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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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28 August 1985

USSR REPORT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

| | |
|---|----|
| Western 'Counterrevolutionary Strategy' Surveyed (A.I. Murashkin; NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM, No 1, Jan-Feb 85)..... | 1 |
| Western Writings on Futurology Surveyed (S.A. Kravchenko; NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM, No 1, Jan-Feb 85)... | 11 |
| June 1985 Assignments of Correspondents Abroad (ZHURNALIST, No 6, Jun 85)..... | 22 |
| 'Structural Changes' in ILO's Tripartite Structure Urged (R. Panteleimonov; NEW TIMES, No 25, Jun 85)..... | 24 |
| Participants in Moscow Youth Festival (Vickey Halloway, Rebecca Smollett; Moscow Television Service, 3 Jul 85)..... | 27 |

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

| | |
|--|----|
| 'Urgent' Problems of CEMA Countries' Economic Growth Discussed (O. Krach; IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK SSSR: SERIYA EKONOMICHESKAYA, No 2, Mar-Apr 85)..... | 30 |
| Problems in Developing Direct Production Ties in CEMA (O.D. Bakovetskiy, V.S. Grinev; IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK SSSR: SERIYA EKONOMICHESKAYA, No 2, Mar-Apr 85)..... | 45 |
| IBEC/IIB: Improving CEMA Financial Relations (Vasiliy Garbuzov; EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV, No 4, 1985)..... | 58 |

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

| | |
|---|----|
| Table of Contents: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 3, 1985 (AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 3, Mar 85)..... | 66 |
| The National Liberation Movement: The Present Stage of Development (A. Kiva; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 3, Mar 85)..... | 68 |
| Soviet Peace Delegation Head Sums Up Manila Peace Conference (Yu. S. Kukushkin Interview; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 3, Mar 85)..... | 77 |
| Economic Problems, Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka Analyzed (A. Mikhaylov; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 3, Mar 85)..... | 81 |
| South Africa: Anti Apartheid Forces' Struggle Documented (V. Shubin; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 3, Mar 85)..... | 86 |
| African National Congress Leader Notes Growing Resistance (V. Sevryukov; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 3, Mar 85)..... | 93 |
| Book on African Political Parties Reviewed (V. Chirkin; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 3, Mar 85)..... | 94 |
| Book on Imperialism's Neocolonial Strategy Reviewed (V. Karymov; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 3, Mar 85)..... | 97 |

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

| | |
|--|----|
| Helms Amendment on U.S. Ratification on Anti-Genocide ConventionHit (I. Lebedev; MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 8 Jun 85)..... | 99 |
|--|----|

WESTERN EUROPE

| | |
|--|-----|
| Denmark Said To Supply Uranium for U.S. Nuclear Weapons (A. Polyukhov; SOVETSKAY LATVIYA, 20 Jun 85)..... | 101 |
| Minister Sees Possibility for More Trade With USSR (A. Haugstvedt Interview; SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 24 Jul 85)..... | 103 |

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

| | |
|--|-----|
| Internal, External Sources of Vietnam's Economic Problems Seen (Sergey Merinov; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 27, 3 Jul 85)... | 105 |
| PRC Economic Reforms Seen Leading to 'Negative Phenomena' (B. Gorelik, Kharkov, S. Agafonov; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 21, 21 May 85)..... | 110 |

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

| | |
|--|-----|
| Zionist Concept of 'Dual Loyalty' Criticized (N. Khlebnikov; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 23, 4 Jun 85)..... | 113 |
| Radio Kabul Described; Counteracting Western Propaganda Stressed (Yuriy Grobovnikov; ZHURNALIST, No 6, Jun 85)..... | 115 |
| Afghan Teachers Visit Uzbekistan (OQITUVCHILAR GAZETASI, 20 Feb 85)..... | 120 |

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

| | |
|--|-----|
| Africa Independence Day Time To View Continent's Status (V. Kudryavtsev; IZVESTIYA, 25 May 85)..... | 121 |
|--|-----|

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

WESTERN 'COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY' SURVEYED

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 pp 108-115

[Article by Candidate of Philosophy A.I. Murashkin: "The Export of Counter-revolution in Imperialism's Political Strategy"]

[Text] Throughout the entire history of the antagonistic society, the progressive classes have had to repel the export of counterrevolution. There have always been external forces which, together with internal reaction, have attempted to restore social orders overthrown by revolution. With the proletariat's emergence into the arena of independent struggle, the bourgeoisie, which was just recently subjected to the export of feudal-monarchical counter-revolution, itself began to use this weapon. The export of counterrevolution has taken on broad scope under the conditions of imperialism and further intensification of capitalism's general crisis. Socialism's victory, V.I. Lenin wrote, is evoking "a direct attempt by the bourgeoisie of other nations to route the socialist state's victorious proletariat" (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Volume 30, page 133). The export of counterrevolution, like the export of capital, is therefore becoming an inseparable element of the ideology and policy of the monopolistic bourgeoisie, an expression of its expansionistic essence and antipopular aspirations and of its class animosity toward the new order.

The strengthening of real socialism's positions and the expansion of the struggle for national liberation and social progress today are unvaryingly accompanied by fierce resistance on the part of reactionary forces led by American imperialism. "Washington," K.U. Chernenko stated in an interview for the newspaper PRAVDA, "demonstrates with cynical openness its great-power ambitions and exaggerated conceptions of America's role and place in the modern world. It aspires to be stronger than all others, to control the destinies of peoples and to impose its will upon everyone everywhere. In short, it is now a matter of a 'crusade' not only against socialism, but actually against the entire world" (PRAVDA, 2 Sep 84). This is confirmed by the intervention of the American military and its allies in the Near East and Central America, by its support of anti-government bands in Angola, Cambodia and Afghanistan, by its anti-Polish actions and its course of military confrontation with the Soviet Union.

Success in counteracting imperialism and the intensification of the revolutionary process depend to a significant degree upon how thoroughly the extensive political lessons gained from revolution and counterrevolution are thought

through and grasped by the broad masses (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 16, p. 124). This process is furthered by the revolutionary avantgarde's theoretical comprehension of historical experience in combatting counterrevolution, by clarification of the nature and the characteristics of the contemporary export of counterrevolution and of the policy of state terrorism conducted by imperialism's reactionary circles, and by the exposure of the strategy and tactics of international counterrevolution.

Marxism-Leninism's conclusion that in the struggle to preserve their privileges, the obsolete classes count on brute force and national betrayal for ruthlessly suppressing the revolutionary movement is highly important for revealing the essence of the export of counterrevolution. V.I. Lenin stressed the fact that "when it comes to the underpinnings of economic power, the power of the exploiters, when it comes to their ownership... they forget all of their talk about love for the fatherland and independence" and "the bourgeoisie sells out the homeland and enters into business deals against their people with any kind of foreigners" (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 37, p. 10). Fear of the social revolution's irreversibility and common class interests force foreign and internal reaction into attempts to unite, disregarding even profound conflicts and inter-state contradictions. Furthermore, the exploiters, going against the economic laws underlying society's development, ultimately resort exclusively to force, imagining, in F. Engels' words, that they can always "protect themselves" from the objective course of history "with rounds from Krupp cannons and Mausers..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], 2nd Edition, Vol. 20, p. 169).

Our literature ordinarily takes all forms and manifestations of imperialism's counterrevolutionary policy in the international arena as the export of counterrevolution (read, for example: G.S. Khokhlyuk, "Uroki bor'by s kontrrevolyutsiyey" [Lessons From the Battle With Counterrevolution], Moscow, 1981, pp 78, 123-124; G.B. Starushenko, "Mirovoy revolyutsionnyy protsess i sovremennoye mezhdunarodnoye pravo" [The World Revolutionary Process and Contemporary International Law], Moscow, 1978, p. 270, and others). To a certain degree there is justification for this: after all, the forms of counterrevolutionary policy are united from the standpoint of their class nature, their mutual causality and the fact that they are directed against the world revolutionary process. This approach, however, does not permit complete disclosure of the specific features, the methods and means of imperialism's counterrevolutionary activity. In our opinion, N.V. Zagladin was right in singling out three relatively independent types of imperialism's counterrevolutionary policy, depending upon the objective pursued, the object of its influence and the arena of the struggle; the prevention of revolutions, the suppression of revolutions and the export of counterrevolution (N.V. Zagladin, "Imperialism's Counterrevolutionary Policy: Experience in its Summarization" in the book "Problemy mirovogo revolyutsionnogo protessa" [Problems of the World Revolutionary Process], Moscow, 1983, 3rd Edition, p. 118).

The policy of preventing revolutions is aimed at averting revolutionary eruptions and at bolstering the power of the monopolistic bourgeoisie and their henchmen. V.I. Lenin pointed out that it includes two main methods

by which the bourgeoisie fights for its interests and strengthens its domination: the method of force and crude suppression, and the method of accommodation, concessions and social maneuvering. "These two methods are now substituted one for another, now intertwined in various combinations" (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 20, p. 67). Preventive imperialist pressure is applied in one form or another in this policy for the prevention of possible progressive changes. This is confirmed by imperialism's interference in the internal affairs of states which are ripe for progressive changes or in which such changes are being made.

International reaction employs the policy of suppressing revolutions in its battle against revolutionary actions in their initial stage. In an attempt to expand the possibilities of internal reaction for defeating revolutionary forces, imperialist circles attempt to create international and internal conditions conducive to counterrevolution. When, despite indirect external support, the resources of counterrevolutionary forces have been exhausted but the revolution continues to develop, the policy of suppression becomes one of increasingly clearly defined, direct foreign intervention--that is, the export of counterrevolution.

The export of counterrevolution is a result of the policy of preventing and suppressing revolutions. It consists of actions by reactionary groups of the imperialist bourgeoisie to restore by force the old, capitalistic (or colonial) order in nations which have set out on a path of profound social reforms ("Nauchnyy kommunizm: Slovar'" [Scientific Communism: A Dictionary], Moscow, 4th Edition, 1983, p. 343). The main purpose of exporting counterrevolution is to restore historically obsolete social orders. Its main targets are nations in which socialist or national liberation revolutions are being victoriously concluded (or have been concluded), or where profound progressive reforms affecting the interests of the exploitive classes and threatening the existence of private ownership are being effected.

The export of counterrevolution stems directly from the policy of preventing and particularly, of suppressing, revolutions. It "is carried out against a state in which the reactionary forces have suffered a defeat, its dependence upon international capital has been drastically reduced and power has shifted to the working class and its allies or to representatives of progressive, revolutionary-democratic forces relying upon assistance and support from the socialist world. Imperialism can have a "fifth column" also within a socialist state in the form of remnants of the exploitive class and a counterrevolutionary underground. These forces, which have already been beaten in open confrontation, can no longer operate independently, without direct outside support, however. Accordingly, the sphere of international relations is the arena of struggle in the implementation of a policy of exporting counterrevolution; it is conducted by ruling circles of imperialist powers and the forces of international reaction, employing primarily foreign policy means" (N.V. Zagladin, "Imperialism's Counterrevolutionary Policy: Experience in Summarization" in "Problemy mirovogo revolyutsionnogo protsessa," p. 123).

Wars, blockades, armed intervention, terror and sabotage, blackmail and murder, the disorganization of production, undeclared wars, covert subversive actions

("secret warfare" and "quiet intervention"), economic, political and ideological pressure, and so forth are used for restoration purposes (Yu. Polyakov, "The Export of Counterrevolution--A Threat to Peace," PRAVDA, 23 Aug 84). All of these are among the arsenal of methods, forms and means used for exporting counterrevolution.

The nature and the substance of the contemporary era and the current phase of unprecedented exacerbation of the international class struggle have left their stamp on the policy of exporting counterrevolution and have produced a number of its specific features.

In the first place, the export of counterrevolution has been openly and cynically elevated by the imperialist powers, particularly the USA, to the rank of official policy. Having set out on a course of achieving military superiority and conducting a policy of state terrorism, A.A. Gromyko stated at the 39th Session of the U.N. General Assembly, they "are undertaking actions aimed at undermining the social and political structure of other nations" (PRAVDA, 28 Sep 84). The imperialist policy of state terrorism, of which the export of counterrevolution is the most dangerous method, has now become all-embracing. It embraces the economic, political, ideological and military spheres. It is given a propaganda cover and provided with ideological support by slanderous accusations that nations of the socialist commonwealth and a number of developing states are engaged in "international terrorism" and the "export of revolution," by the dissemination of neoconservative ideas about the imperial-Messianic role of the USA, and so forth. The resorting to methods of state terrorism and international brigandage as tools for restoring orders overthrown by revolution attests to the profound crisis of imperialist foreign policy and will inevitably lead to new failures for that policy.

In the second place, the export of counterrevolution has been moved to the fore in contemporary imperialism's counterrevolutionary policy. Plans for social revenge in both individual nations and on a global scale are increasingly being linked to it. Today, the world has come up against an adventurous attempt by the most aggressive imperialist circles to find a way out of the intensifying general crisis of the capitalist system, to cope with the growth of inflation, unemployment and poverty among broad masses of the workers, to preserve the bourgeoisie's tested methods for maintaining their domination relatively stable since the war, and to lessen the severity of inter-imperialist contradictions and conflicts by exporting counterrevolution and slowing the world revolutionary process. In the final analysis, the policy of exporting counterrevolution resulted from a further weakening of imperialism's positions, from the fact that it "has become entangled in internal and inter-state antagonisms, upheavals and conflicts" and is "attempting to reverse the development at any cost" ("Materialy Plenuma TsK KPSS, 14-15 iyunya 1983 g." [Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 14-15 June 1983] Moscow, 1983, p. 24).

In the third place, the U.S. military is attempting to offer resistance organized more and more on a world scale to the revolutionary forces. Direct attempts to put together a united international counterrevolutionary front on an anti-Soviet, antisocialist basis serve this purpose. Its main nucleus is

made up of aggressive military-political blocs and alliances, a branching network of anti-communist centers and organizations, subversive radio stations and so forth. For that same purpose, police "firefighting teams" and special-purpose groups such as the Rapid Deployment Force and the Green Berets are being formed, an appropriate agency is being sought for carrying out "multi-national" interventionist acts, increasing attention is being given to the establishment of new links with so-called local "centers of power," stronger advances are being made to anti-Soviets of all kinds, and the forces of regional reaction and hegemonism are continuing to be drawn into imperialism's orbit.

In the fourth place, imperialism is continuing the intensive modernization of the tactical and strategic arsenal for international counterrevolution. It continues to be oriented toward suppression of the revolutionary movement by force, but it is being forced to adapt to the realities of the contemporary era. As socialism grows stronger, its capability grows and the class solidarity of workers of the entire world gains strength, possibilities for the armed export of counterrevolution are reduced. The imperialists are therefore more and more frequently resorting to other means (economic, political and ideological), which are becoming more insidious and refined. The expansion of subversive activity is being accompanied by attempts to coordinate military and nonmilitary tools for exporting counterrevolution even more closely and to camouflage the tactics of counterrevolutionary forces more completely. The policy of exporting counterrevolution as a method by which imperialism retards the world revolutionary process is being constantly implemented. "Some nation only has to freely choose its path of development, and all possible means of suppression are put into play. And if this does not work, there is no hesitation to employ direct intervention" (A.A. Gromyko, "On the Path of October, A Course of Creativity and Peace," PRAVDA, 7 Nov 84).

Today's organizers of the export of counterrevolution are resorting to direct armed aggression and other ways of suppressing a revolution. The imperialists attempt to deal with popular revolutions, it was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, "by encouraging internal counterrevolution or aggression from outside" ("Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," Moscow, 1981, pp. 12-13). The correctness of this conclusion has been confirmed also by contemporary events.

U.S. imperialism committed aggression against Grenada. The entire world branded the barbarous attack on that nation as a gross violation of the UN Charter and of generally accepted standards of international law. The tragedy of Grenada, which was a victim of undisguised export of counterrevolution by the imperialists, was a graphic demonstration of the USA's imperial policy. The wars in Korea and Vietnam and armed adventures in other states were components of that policy. Large-scale acts of provocation are planned and carried out by Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries in Honduras and Costa Rica, and shipments of military equipment and supplies to Salvadoran reaction are being expanded under the direction of the CIA. According to foreign press reports, at least 80 million dollars is spent annually to support the Somoza forces and to carry out terror, acts of diversion and subversive actions (MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN , No. 3, 1984, p. 94). A 25,000-man army of regional

"police forces" made up of Honduran, Guatemalan and Salvadoran punishers is being formed in Honduras under the supervision of the Green Berets (see MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN , No. 1, 1984, p. 78).

Peoples engaged in a struggle for national and social liberation are subjected to unceasing attacks on the part of international imperialism and regional reaction. They rely primarily on armed intervention, using both armies and irregular formations. For this purpose, imperialism, primarily American imperialism, consolidates reactionary forces and regimes, pushing them into concluding regional military-political alliances and agreements under U.S. aegis, providing them with assistance in the form of large shipments of weapons and military supplies. In addition, as the Chilean revolution demonstrated, the tactic of "intercepting" a revolution is put into play for restoring corrupted regimes.

It consists in isolating progressive forces from the world revolutionary movement and the world socialist system, introducing chaos into the nation's life and then stifling the revolution with the help of reactionary circles linked to American imperialism. Imperialism attempts to infiltrate its agents into the leadership of the revolutionary movement, "to replace" direct military intervention with counterrevolution "from within," to conduct it "formally, with internal forces" and so forth. Priority is clearly given to so-called "semi-military" operations making it possible for imperialism to put together armies of mercenaries and bandits and to engage in undeclared wars.

This policy has assumed unprecedented scope with respect to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. In order to eliminate the progressive order and restore feudal institutions in the nation and to deprive the Afghan people of their independence and freedom, U.S. imperialism and its accomplices are conducting an undeclared war against the DRA, using Pakistan's territory for training and arming numerous bands of counterrevolutionaries and getting them into Afghanistan.

Plans for combatting real socialism are at the center of international imperialism's restoration ambitions. The predominant course in its policy is one of achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and other nations in the socialist commonwealth in order to gain, even temporarily, some possibility for blackmail, diktat and political extortion. The concept of "limited nuclear war" calculated to "deplete" the socialist world and for carrying out "selective" nuclear missile strikes against it, and the concept of "a drawn-out nuclear missile war," which are being intensively propagandized and actively introduced into imperialism's military-political strategy, serve the same purpose. This is why the leaders of contemporary imperialism are ignoring all peace-loving proposals of the Soviet Union and all the socialist commonwealth nations, thereby forcing the USSR and its allies to strengthen their defense.

The aggressor would like to deal with a weakened, softened socialism. This accounts for the fact that practical steps are not only worked out, but are actually being implemented for undermining socialism from within and weakening the unity and solidarity of the world socialist commonwealth.

Counterrevolution is exported to nations in the socialist world by various means, including "peaceful" and "quiet" ways, or "creeping" counterrevolution.

Counterrevolution is a complex social phenomenon. It embraces all three main forms of class struggle: economic, political and ideological. It is multifaceted, has various shades, involves overt and covert methods of struggle, and so forth. In every case, however, the matter of state power is inevitably at the center of the class confrontation. "...The forms of struggle," V.I. Lenin taught us, "can change and are constantly changing as dependent upon various, relatively particular and temporary factors, but the essence of the struggle and its class substance simply cannot change as long as classes exist" (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 27, p. 372). Because of this, it is very important to bring out the internal logic in the development of counterrevolution, which helps to organize the prompt and effective repelling of counterrevolutionary danger.

Within the structure of counterrevolution, Soviet researchers distinguish the counterrevolutionary conspiracy--that is, deliberate action by counterrevolutionaries to arrange the overthrow of the new order, the counterrevolutionary crisis, which creates the conditions for a counterrevolutionary overthrow, and the overthrow itself (N.G. Levintov, "Combatting Counterrevolution as a Condition for Successful Development of the Revolutionary Process" in NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM, No. 1, 1982, p. 109). It is no less important to consider the dynamics and specific features of the growth of the counterrevolutionary process. Counterrevolution does not always begin in overt military forms. Studying the conflict between revolution and counterrevolution, the Marxist-Leninist classics have concluded that with an adverse balance of class forces, counterrevolution ordinarily goes through a number of stages in its development (K. Marx, "The Second Stage of Counterrevolution," K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], 2nd Edition, Vol. 6; V.I. Lenin, "Revolution and Counterrevolution," "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 16).

The first stage consists of a relatively lengthy process of weakening the revolutionary power, a regrouping of the counterrevolutionary forces, an attempt to set up a diarchy, and so forth. During that period reaction carefully conceals its true objective of seizing power and disguises the struggle against the revolution with false assertions as to the "legitimacy" and "humaneness" of its demands. There is a limit to how far this development of events can go. Having gathered its forces and become confident of victory, reaction begins to take determined action in the struggle for power. The pretext of striving for democracy and freedom is dropped, and there is an inevitable transition from the first to the second stage of counterrevolution. The struggle for power is accompanied by unrestrained butchery and the relentless suppression of resistance by the popular masses. All experience in revolutionary struggle confirms this unshakable fact: counterrevolution does not always begin with cruel terror, but it always ends with that.

What we have said, I believe, provides the basis for regarding "quiet" counterrevolution as nothing other than the manifestation of the first stage of the counterrevolutionary process, the threshold of the open seizure of state power.

"Recent events," it was stated at the 26th CPSU Congress, "have confirmed over and over again the fact that our class enemies are learning from their defeats. They are operating against the socialist nations in an increasingly refined and insidious manner" ("Materialy XXVI s'yezda KPSS," p. 9). Reaction is more and more frequently preferring the export of "quiet" counterrevolution to the overt, armed export of counterrevolution. No matter how refined and insidious the means of exporting counterrevolution, however, it is always "slipped through" in a situation in which the communist party and the socialist state are following a consistent course of strengthening socialism. The absence of social support within the socialist nations for the restoration of obsolete and destroyed capitalist relations and the ignoring of the laws underlying social development prevent the bourgeoisie from achieving the desired results.

The exporting of counterrevolution depends upon many internal and external factors. Its likelihood is increased when the period of transition from capitalism to socialism has not been completed in the nation and there are remnants of the exploitative classes and petty bourgeois groups, when errors are made in the building of socialism, when a systematic and determined struggle is not conducted against revisionism and dogmatism, and the class enemy is underestimated. The weakening of the party's guiding role and a breakdown in its ties with the working class and with all the workers are especially dangerous.

The creation of chaos and anarchy, it was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, is becoming the main task of imperialist circles and elements hostile to socialism in their efforts "to switch the development of events into a counterrevolutionary channel" (ibid.). Various tools of destabilization policy were used with respect to Poland, for example: "credit traps," bribes and promises, encouragement for the creation of a "free press" and underground antisocialist organizations, manipulation of the minds of the workers and so forth. Secret services of the West became a sort of system for the remote control of internal counterrevolutionary forces. In August of 1980 alone, leading printed organs of the NATO nations devoted around 3,000 large articles to events in Poland, a third of which contained instructions for abolishing the socialist gains (PRAVDA, 23 Oct 80). The number of foreign radio broadcasts to the nation also increased considerably.

It would be an oversimplification to attribute all of the actions of counterrevolutionaries to foreign reaction alone. The imperialist forces have also used internal counterrevolution for their own treacherous purposes. The plans of the Polish people's enemies called for seizing power through the creation of "a coalition government of moderate communists, independent economists, opposition figures and representatives of the church" (quoted from V. Trubnikov, "Krakh 'operatsii Poloniya,' 1980-1981 gg. Dokum. ocherk" [Collapse of the "Polonia Operation," 1980-1981: A Documentary Study], Moscow, 1983, p. 17). There were also provisions for an "anticommunist uprising" as a back-up alternative (ibid., p. 18).

The exporters of counterrevolution pursued the objective of depriving the Polish United Workers Party of its support and influence in the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, of demoralizing the society and drawing the population into a bloody and prolonged civil war. Stability has been destroyed and state security has been jeopardized," W. Jaruzelski stated in a

speech in the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on 25 January 1982," the national economy was in a decline, and there was the danger of a fratricidal war" (PRAVDA, 27 January 82). The imposition of marshal law averted bloodshed and a possible international conflict.

And so, the export of counterrevolution is a weapon of the exploiters in the struggle against the revolutionary and the national liberation movement, a manifestation of imperialism's desperate efforts to withstand the powerful onslaught of the revolutionary movement. It "has become a particularly dangerous form of imperialist expansion in the international arena. It creates a threat to the freedom and independence of peoples, pursues the objective of preserving antipopular exploitative regimes and restoring capitalist institutions, and results in the growth of international tensions. Imperialism exports counterrevolution both by armed means and by means of subversive actions involving secret services and the use of diverse forms of interference in the internal affairs of nations in which revolutionary changes have occurred. The export of counterrevolution is aimed at destroying the gains made by peoples in the struggle for social and national liberation. It brings terror to the revolutionary peoples, persecutes freedom fighters and flouts human rights" (B. Ponomarev, "Revolutionary Reforms in the World and Their Causes," KOMMUNIST, No. 16, 1984, pp. 28-29). The forces of imperialist reaction are making an especially vigorous attempt to weaken the socialist commonwealth, to undermine the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties and their close ties with the people, and to provoke counterrevolutionary disturbances. The revolutionary forces must therefore maintain constant vigilance with respect to all indications of the export of counterrevolution and engage in an organized and uncompromising battle against them.

Defending the gains of revolution against encroachments by internal and external enemies is a law of the world revolutionary movement. "Any revolution is only worth something," V.I. Lenin stated, "if it is able to defend itself..." (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 37, p. 122). All of the forces in the world revolutionary process are combatting imperialism's counterrevolutionary adventures. The socialist system has now been moved to the forward edge of that struggle by the objective logic of historical development. It is in a position to protect any socialist nation from the export of counterrevolution, to thwart or weaken the counterrevolutionary intrigues of imperialist circles in other areas of the world. Creating conditions which paralyze imperialism and reaction in their attempts to restore corrupted social orders is an extremely important aspect of the defense of revolutionary gains. This was the focus of a proposal submitted by the Soviet Union at the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly. "We propose," A.A. Gromyko stated in his speech, "that the UN resolutely condemn the policy and practice of state terrorism as a method of conducting affairs with other nations and peoples. We should reject all actions involving the use of force to alter or undermine the social system of sovereign states, to destabilize or overthrow their legal governments, and should not initiate military actions for this purpose under any pretext whatsoever and halt such actions already underway" (PRAVDA, 28 Sep 84).

The UN General Assembly approved the Soviet Union's proposal by a vast majority of votes on 17 December 1984 and adopted a resolution on the issue:

"On the inadmissibility of a policy of state terrorism or any other actions by states to undermine the social and political structure in other sovereign states" (PRAVDA, 19 Dec 84).

The elimination of exploitative classes, the achievement of socio-political and ideological unity of all workers, the creative application of the laws underlying the building of socialism and communism, the international solidarity of all groups in the world revolutionary movement and the strengthening of their unity and solidarity constitute a reliable safeguard against the export of counterrevolution.

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WESTERN WRITINGS ON FUTUROLOGY SURVEYED

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[Article by Candidate of Philosophy S.A. Kravchenko under the rubric "Scientific Reports From the Higher School": "Certain Specific Features of Contemporary Bourgeois Futurology: The Contemporary Ideological Struggle"]

[Text] Mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism is based on the laws of social development. The ideology of the working class has an important role in this process. "The scientific nature and democratism, the revolutionary nature and humanism of this ideology," K.U. Chernenko stated, "fundamentally distinguish it from the ideology of the bourgeoisie, which justify and give their blessing to the exploitative institutions and aggressive policy of imperialism and promote nationalism and chauvinism. In contrast to bourgeois ideology, communist ideology attracts the minds and hearts of millions with its trueness and honesty, its integrity and optimism. It is the ideology of the ascending class, the ideology of a new society, the ideology of peace and friendship among peoples" ("Materialy Plenuma TsK KPSS, 14-15 iyunya 1983 g." [Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 14-15 June 1983], Moscow, 1983, p. 30).

Apologists of the imperialist bourgeoisie give a great deal of attention to the role of ideology in the struggle of ideas when designing models of the future. In the situation of the intensifying struggle between socialism and capitalism, between Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois ideology, they are attempting to protect the bourgeois system, to substantiate its historical prospects by compiling plans for a modernized, reformed system of imperialism. This makes it necessary to systematically expose the theoretical baselessness of various concepts and schools of futurology.

Our scientific literature has subjected various aspects of bourgeois futurology to a critical analysis.¹ The futurologists are adapting to the new conditions, however, and creating new conceptions. A differentiated approach to the conceptions of futurology, which takes their specific features into account, is necessary for subjecting them to a thorough and purposeful critique.

Contemporary bourgeois futurology attempts to accomplish two strategic tasks: in the first place, to predict difficulties produced by the exacerbation of antagonistic conflicts and to find tools for controlling the course of historical events and means for capitalism's "social survival"; and in the second place,

to create alternatives to Marxist-Leninist concepts of the future in the hope of helping the bourgeoisie "to lessen the severity" of capitalism's economic and political problems in the eyes of the workers.

These common strategic tasks certainly do not require conceptual unity among the futurologists. The prognostic conceptions expressing the interests and aspirations of large capital stand out most boldly in the futurology of the '80s: right-wing extremist concepts reflecting the interests of the most reactionary forces of monopolistic capital, particularly the military-industrial complex; "neo-Marxist" and all sorts of "left-wing" and right-wing, radical futurologist concepts of the nonproletarian groups; clerical concepts, as well as spiritualism, astrology and so forth, which are becoming increasingly widespread; and social-reformist and other opportunistic concepts.²

Prognostic concepts which reflect the interests of large capital have undergone substantial evolution in the past 10 years. At the end of the '70s and the beginning of the '80s they began to show more and more clearly that modern scientific and technical progress does not fit within the bounds of capitalist social relations. Futurologist concepts of the end of the '60s and the mid-'70s, which were based on the possibility of uniting the effects of the scientific and technical revolution with state monopolistic capitalism, collapsed.³ Specifically, the concept of a "postindustrial society," which depicted the future of man as reformed and idealized state monopolistic capitalism, did not stand the test of time. According to the American magazine FUTURIST, a split occurred in the ranks of the proponents of this concept, resulting in the formation of two trends (THE FUTURIST, Washington, April 1983, p. 16).

Spokesmen for the first trend, headed by D. Bell and H. Kahn (1922-1983), regard the scientific and technical revolution as a kind of panacea for all the ills of the capitalist society. From a position of technological optimism, they defend the interests of the transnational corporations, convincing the masses of the inevitability of the onset of "a revolution of incomes, services and information," which, they allege, will make a socialist revolution pointless. In one of his latest works, "The Coming Boom," however, Kahn is more restrained in his optimistic estimation of the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution for the capitalist society: he regards the incomes and services promised the masses not as a reality but more as idyllic predictions. Essentially, this trend resurrects in a new form the concept of a "society of universal prosperity" of the '50s and '60s, a concept which demonstrated its baselessness.

Spokesmen for the second trend (W. Harman, B. Shumacher and others), on the contrary, criticize Bell and Kahn's ideals of the future. From a position of anti-industrialism and ecological "technologism," they reveal the negative features of scientific and technical progress under capitalism. The supporters of this trend attribute the social and economic difficulties which have arisen not to capitalist relations, however, but to the imperfection of modern technology, and regard economizing technology, ecological control and microelectronics as a means of bolstering capitalism. I. Miles, for example, states that "the strengthening of social relations in nations of the West depends upon the

role of the new technologies," that the very fact of the West's mastery of microelectronic technology, he alleges, is "an example of the superiority" of capitalism over real socialism (I. Miles, "New Technologies, Old Orders" in "Visions of Desirable Societies," edited by Masini, 1st English Edition, 1983, pp 208, 229).

There are authors of the second school who do not see any way to overcome the antagonisms between the scientific and technical revolution and capitalist relations and therefore promote an idyll of a "closed, agrarian" society. A. Toffler, for example, advocates a sort of "sythesis-society," which is "highly technological and at the same time, anti-industrial" (A. Toffler, "The Third Wave," New York, 1980, p 26). It is essentially capitalism "modernized" with the patriarchal relations of an "agrarian civilization." Finding no other means of resolving the bourgeois antagonisms, whose development Toffler links to the flaws of "industrialism," he extrapolates technical and technological progress onto social soil in which there have been and historically could not be antagonisms of capitalist relations--an "agrarian civilization." E. Boulding advocates "local" civilization, which, in her opinion, "will make it possible to overcome the energy, raw materials and transportation crises, as well as militarism" (E. Boulding, "Women's Visions of the Future" in "Visions of Desirable Societies," 1983, pp 13-15).

The official futurology of large capital takes into account to a lesser or greater degree the conclusions and proposals of the Club of Rome, whose forecasts are mainly oriented toward the transnational corporations. In our opinion, this is due to the conceptual kinship between the two above-mentioned trends and the two main opposing trends within the Club of Rome--the "ecological pessimists" and the "scientific-technical optimists."

The "ecological pessimists" (A. Peccei, D. Meadows, A. Erlich and others) consider it practically impossible to resolve the problems created by the scientific and technical revolution. They propagandize the notion that the world is ending and are essentially continuing the concepts of O. Spengler and A. Toynbee, which equate the bourgeoisie's departure from the historical arena to the collapse of all human civilization. A. Peccei, for example, writes the following: "People have rushed headlong along the paths opened up by technology without asking where they lead. Man's future is becoming absolutely unpredictable... and it now appears more utopian and gloomy than at any time in the past" (A. Pecci, "One Hundred Pages for the Future," New York, 1981, pp 6-7).

These conclusions have helped to establish in Western futurology the opinion that the way out of the economic and ecological crises may be found in the future by establishing "growth ceilings," by the practicing of "moderation" by the workers in their social demands and even in "reversionism" (reverse development). It must be noted that this assertion has taken a clearly defined class direction: while "growth ceilings" have been established for the workers, they have not been established for the exploiting classes.

The adherents of "scientific-technical optimism" proceed from the assumption that it is potentially possible for mankind to master the achievements of the

scientific and technical revolution. Dutch economist Jan Tinbergen believes that the continued exacerbation of problems created by uncontrolled scientific-technical progress threatens the very existence of capitalism and sees the way out of the situation in the creation of new international structures and means of development conforming to the interests of the imperialist states. "If the Western world," he writes, "wants to get down to resolving its constantly growing problems, both social and economic, then it must strive in its own long-term interest to create new international structures based on global collaboration" (J. Tinbergen, "Peresmotr mezhdunarodnogo poryadka" [Reshaping the International Order], Moscow, 1980, p 35).

The struggle between the "ecological pessimists" and the "scientific-technical optimists" has to a significant degree been subjected to political competition. The pessimistic concepts had the leading place in futurology as early as the beginning of the '70s.⁴ The situation changed in the second half of the '70s and in the '80s: spokesman for technological optimism strengthened their positions considerably. The pessimistic moods, criticism of science and technology, and skepticism with respect to bourgeois values could in no way be fitted in with the advertising of the "Western" way of life. The interests of large capital require that the futurologists make adjustments in their definition of prospects for development and create optimistic illusions of progress and class peace. And futurology is being reshaped. Certain proponents of "ecological pessimism" have revised their concepts and made them optimistic. Toffler, who gained fame from such works as "Future Shock" (1970) and "The Echo-Spasm Report" (1975), whose titles leave no room for doubt as to their pessimistic bent, promotes models of an optimistic future in his new book "The Third Wave" (1980).

Our scholars have critiqued the theoretical-methodological bases for the studies performed by the Club of Rome and revealed the social nature and functions of bourgeois futurologist concepts, which are apologetic in nature and ignore the need for a basic social-economic and political reform of capitalism for resolving the global problems of our era.⁵ The studies made by the Club of Rome contain material which has drawn the attention of the progressive community of the entire world, to be sure: it has to do with the arms race, international detente, the establishment of a just world order, and other problems.

The concepts of the Club of Rome are sometimes criticized by the bourgeois ideologists themselves for their "nihilism" with respect to the transnational corporations. Scholars at Columbia University, who published the book "The Relevance of Liberalism" under Z. Brzezinski's editorship, state that "in its theses," the Club of Rome "essentially expresses in a new form the old criticism of liberalism, industrialism and modernization, which everyone is tired of, the only difference being that the Marxist element--capitalism's internal contradictions are leading to its ruin--is absent in this critique" ("The Relevance of Liberalism," Westview Press, 1978, p. 121).

The authors of this publication feel that the Club of Rome's analysis "is false and must be totally rejected" (ibid., p. 122). As members of the right-wing conservative branch, they proceed from the premise that only the ideological

values of the West have the right to exist in the present and in the future, and justify the concept of "Atlantism"--utmost glorification of American imperialism's role. In those cases in which peoples attempt to independently determine the prospects for their social development, interfering with the expansion of American imperialism, they call for "the use of force in international relations" (ibid., p. 124).

Futurologists of the right-wing, conservative branch justify the militarization being conducted by the imperialist bourgeoisie and the development of new types of weapons for achieving military superiority over the socialist nations, and regard technology as "an instrument of pressure in the dialogue between the industrially developed world (the North) and the developing nations (the South)," as a means of "military balance between the USA and the USSR." They state that they should strive for "qualitative superiority in the technological competition" for purposes of "compensating for the imbalance" which has allegedly developed through the fault of the USSR ("Technological Forecasting and Social Change," INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL, New York, No. 1, 1983, September, Vol. 24, p. 31). They thereby produce ideological stereotypes such as the notorious "Soviet military threat," which is supposed to discredit socialism's ideals in the eyes of the workers in the capitalist nations.

Realistically minded futurologists of the bourgeois-liberal wing and a closely associated, significant portion of the Social Democrats, increasingly criticizing the agents of militant anticommunism, point out that the development of mutually advantageous collaboration between the socialist and capitalist nations helps to strengthen trust among peoples and reduces the possibility of war. They state that the arms race is detrimental to social progress and is creating a threat to the future: "A larger number of weapons makes mankind not safer, but poorer" ("North-South: A Program for Survival; Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues; W. Brant, chairman, Panama, 1980, p. 117).

It should be pointed out, however, that it is sometimes difficult to draw a line between futurologists of the liberal-bourgeois and the right-wing, conservative branch. They have something in common--anticommunism. Unlike futurologists of the '60s and '70s, both the liberals and the conservatives openly defend capitalism, but adhering to different versions of a single doctrine of "global convergence." Their theories are based on the ideas of "a common human fate" and "common responsibility" of the peoples of all nations for resolving vitally important problems. Both the liberals and the conservatives call for "solidarity at the local, national, regional and global levels. This means that there is only one race (the human race) and only one country (Mother Earth), of which we are all a part and for which we are all responsible" (Bart van Steenberghe, "The Frugality Society: A Future Design for the First World" in "Visions of Desirable Societies," 1983, p. 138). They remove the socio-economic and class substance from the concept of "common responsibility," however, and abstract themselves from the class struggle. A. Peccei, as an example, while advocating "active collaboration between the East and West," at the same time calls for rejection of the class

struggle, which, in his opinion, "is becoming increasingly expensive and unproductive" (O. Peccei, "One Hundred Pages for the Future," pp. 133-134).

The purpose of this "non-ideological" approach to the concept of "common responsibility" is to fight for the fate of capitalism "in the name of the entire world," to resolve certain problems at the expense of peoples of the socialist and developing nations in the interest of monopolistic capital. Such concepts are used by the ruling circles of imperialist states for validating theses on the "right" of the monopolies to the resources of other nations, on "zones of vital interest" to U.S. imperialism, and so forth. In the final analysis, official bourgeois futurology is using the eclectic concept of "global convergence," which is based on "technologism," ecological reformism and neo-Keynesianism to distort the objective laws underlying social development, discrediting the future of socialism and the ideals of the socialist way of life, and affirming capitalism as the only possible system for the future. "All areas of the world should be capitalistic," states H. Addo, "and those which are not... should function in the capitalist world as though they were capitalistic. This applies equally to the socialist nations and the peripheral capitalistic societies" (H. Addo, "Informing Visions of Desirable Future Societies Through Dialogue of Civilization: A Peripheral View," in "Visions of Desirable Societies," 1983, p. 167).

The vitalization of an ideology reflecting the interests of the ruling monopolistic bourgeoisie is one manifestation of capitalism's spiritual crisis, of its inability to give broad segments of the population in the capitalist nations a sense of optimism and confidence in the future. "The instilling of a fanatical hatred for Marxism-Leninism and real socialism, the intensification of fear, anti-Soviet hysteria and 'psychological warfare,' and preparations for nuclear war--this is what the policy of the conservatives is actually turning into for peoples, including the American people" (V. Mshveniyeradze, "Neoconservatism in the Service of Imperialist Reaction," PRAVDA, 8 Oct 84).

The right-wing, extremist futurologist concepts of the contemporary "ultras" center around the ideas of a world corporative basis for the military-industrial complexes, Pan-Americanism, a course of "cold war" and military confrontation with the world socialist system. The 26th CPSU Congress stressed the fact that "adventurism and a readiness to place the vital interests of mankind on the line for the sake of their narrow, mercenary goals--this is what is manifested especially blatantly in the policy of imperialism's most aggressive circles" ("Materialy XXVI syezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p. 20).

The main thesis of the "ultra" futurologists is that "force decides everything, determines both the present and the future of mankind." They openly state who actually makes the policy and determines its main substance. "The most healthy and the most promising aspect of national life in the United States," writes H. Osborn, "is determined by our leading corporations. Life in the nation depends upon them to a significant degree. If the growth of the USA's power and its prospering depended upon the politicians, the nation would have ceased to be long ago" (H. Osborn, "In Defense of Fascism," Albuquerque, 1981, p. 14). The desire of the apologists of the monopolistic elite for political monism and autocracy is apparent from these and similar statements.

There are political institutions in the capitalist nations which attempt to strengthen the domination of the most reactionary circles of the international monopolies and the military-industrial complexes. The "ultra" futurologists defend the interests of such political groups as the "Propaganda-2" secret lodge, associations and clubs of the superelite, which serve the ruling classes from time to time as a means of exerting veiled political influence. They represent an effective instrument of power, regardless of the party affiliation of their members.

The "ultra" ideologists advocate replacing existing bourgeois democratic institutions, rights and freedoms, and passing emergency laws to protect the interests of the military-industrial complex. Why do rank-and-file citizens need the right to vote, and how much understanding do most men and women have of social problems, when they are unable to provide "the desired solution to problems" or heal "the sick American society?" asks Osborn (*ibid.*, pp. 20-35). Only a highly exalted individual and leader can be "the homeland's saviour," he reasons, and immediately outlines proposed changes. "Call this active policy by any term of your choice. Think up a new name. If the common noun 'fascist' has become anathema to the ears of our contemporaries, invent any new term.... The essence of the historical phenomenon, however, consists in the following: Democracy has suffered a defeat. A new social and political order is needed" (*ibid.*, pp. 45, 46).

The extensive penetration of the military-industrial complex into all areas of public life, the merging of the monopolies and the state, the trend of turning away from bourgeois-political concepts of "political pluralism," which are experiencing an acute crisis, to concepts of "political monism"--all of this is affecting the shaping and the evolution of concepts of the future in the area of international relations. The "ultra" futurologists adhere to the concept of "global convergence" and advocate the creation of "a great empire" headed by the USA. They propose that the very existence of large and small nations is the source of armed conflict: "Small nations want to become large," but "being small, they attract the insatiable desires of the large states" (N.B. Devereux, "The Small State as the Major Troublemaker in History and the Need to Eliminate its Existence for the Peace of the World," Albuquerque, 1981, p. 15). The futurologists identify the imperial policy, which is actually only an attribute of the exploitative society's political system, with the institution of state power in general. The incorrect assertion that "all nations develop according to the law of empires" (*ibid.*, p. 17) stems from this. Based on such "theoretical investigations," the futurologists arrive at the conclusion that "there is only one way to deal with the small state for the sake of peace in the world--it must be destroyed" (*ibid.*, p. 20).

In accordance with the "global convergence" concept, a "single super-leader" will take shape in the future. Essentially, American imperialism with all its antagonisms is being imposed upon the peoples of the world as the ideal for the future. The international policy of the "ultra" ideologists is imperialist diktat for purposes of establishing their hegemony and their domination over the entire world. They see a future with weapons and an army, contrary to the truly humane prospects for social development without wars and conflicts which socialism offers, contrary to the will of millions of the Earth's people, who want not a "world of slavery" but a world based on social justice.

The American Administration is currently adopting in its practices the "theoretical principles" of the "ultra" futurologists, creating new means of aggression and strengthening existing means. "We must revive, vitalize and build up the special forces," U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger stated in a discussion of defense matters for fiscal years 1984-1988, "in order to demonstrate the power of the United States wherever the employment of conventional armed forces would be premature, inappropriate or impossible.... The special forces will conduct operations in Eastern Europe, as well as in the northern and southern sectors of NATO's zone of operation" (quoted from L.A. Modzhoryan, "Terrorizm: pravda i vymysel" [Terrorism: Truth and Fiction], Moscow, 1983, p. 99).

The obsolescence of concepts of the "new leftists" is influencing the conceptual orientation of contemporary "neo-Marxist" futurologist concepts. When they attempt to analyze social progress, futurologists of the '80s try to depart from the concepts of "new leftists" of the '50s and '60s (Marcuse, Freud) and passed themselves off as modern "successors" of K. Marx, who "acknowledge" the importance of economic analysis of capitalism and the idea of interdependence between society and nature for designing models of the future. Yu.V. Andropov has stated that "many bourgeois theoreticians in the fields of philosophy, sociology and political economy have built up a reputation mainly by presenting Marxist concepts in their own manner" (Yu.V. Andropov, "Ucheniye Karla Marksa i nekotoryye voprosy sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva v SSSR" [The Doctrine of Karl Marx and Certain Questions of Socialist Development in the USSR], Moscow, 1983, p. 30).

Futurologists of this school attempt to adapt to the new circumstances, to the objectively occurring switch in public awareness toward scientific communism. In his book with the tendentious title "Marxism: For and Against," R.L. Heilbroner writes the following: "The coming century will prove that Marx was profoundly mistaken in his definition of future capitalism, but as long as capitalism exists I do not believe that it can ever be said that Marx was mistaken in his definition of the essence of capitalism" (R.L. Heilbroner, "Marxism: For and Against," New York-London, 1980, pp. 94-95).

We can see that this "admission" denies the basic tenets of Marxism on the regular nature of social development and on the historic mission of the working class in the society's transition from capitalism to socialism. And most important, the futurologists deny the unity of Marxist theory and praxis. Heilbroner, for example, attributes to K. Marx the idea of specific time periods for the bourgeois society's overthrow. He states without any basis that K. Marx believed capitalism would exist only to the 20th century. "Therefore," he pontificates, "one can state with complete justification that the scenario for the future according to Marx has been a failure" (ibid., p. 128). The purpose of such reasoning is apparent: to conceal the objective laws of social development discovered by K. Marx and to ignore the current process of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism.

In his article "Faith and Liberation," R. Garaudy contrasts faith to ideology, which, he says, is in all cases "a doctrine for protecting the existing order" (R. Garaudy, "Faith and Liberation," in "Visions of Desirable Societies," 1983,

p. 53). Garaudy sees no difference between the false bourgeois ideology which protects capitalism and the scientific ideology of the working class, which reflects the interests of the people and the laws of historical development bringing about a socialist and communist future for mankind. He endeavors to portray a civilization based on the Christian faith, on subjective idylls--"relations of creativity and love" in which "each individual receives what he earns" (ibid., pp. 59, 51-52). The concept he proposes is essentially deprived of a historical-materialistic basis and denies the need for fundamental socio-economic and political reform of the capitalist system as a real condition for the achievement of social equality and justice, of true human happiness. This concept is similar to modern Christian socialism.

And so, the futurologists are disguising themselves as Marxists (see V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol. 23, p. 3), increasingly parasitizing the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development and attempting to use the laws and principles it has revealed, against it. As a result, models of the future are appearing, which reflect "a fervent attempt by the progressive bourgeoisie to give their movement at least the external appearance of socialism..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], 2nd Edition, Vol. 8, p. 23).

The futurologist-clerics and spiritualists form a special trend.

The social and economic hardships of workers in the capitalist nations, the growth of unemployment and inflation, the new round of the arms race unleashed by U.S. imperialism and aggressive circles in NATO, the spread of myths about a "Soviet military threat" and statements from the White House that it is possible to conduct either a global or a "limited" nuclear war--all of this is objectively contributing to the flourishing of clerical futurology, spiritualism, astrology, parapsychology and so forth. In the USA alone, more than a dozen large parapsychological laboratories have been set up, and numerous books have been published, which propagandize in one form or another the substantiveness of the spiritual basis, which, they say, will have a crucial influence upon the nature of future mankind.

Futurologists of this trend ordinarily take positions of bourgeois pacifism. In the resolution of the problem of war and peace, they count not so much on human abilities and reason as upon "the creative intellect, which functions throughout the universe" (see THE FUTURIST, Washington, April 1983, p. 56). They attempt to convince the readers that under the influence of an other-world force, in the future "the military-industrial complex will be reoriented toward creative work, construction, repair services and the saving of lives on earth and in space" (ibid., p. 58).

In contrast to Marxist-Leninist ideology, which is dialectically linked to practical reality, the futurologist-clerics are increasingly getting into Utopian ideas about social progress and the future. All of the futurologist trends have been affected by this. Victories for the world revolutionary movement are forcing the bourgeois apologists to resort to idyllic Utopias, to link their models of the social structure either with the distant past or the remote future, based on fatalism, mysticism and religion. When he portrays the future, Toffler, for example, introduces the concept "practopia," which

is an absurd abstraction, a synthesis of practical reality and Utopia: "Practopia," he states, "offers a positive, even a revolutionary alternative to the present" (A. Toffler, "The Third Wave," p. 375) and goes on to say that the model of civilization he proposes "literally represents the following: it is a practopian future" (ibid.). A. Peccei advances the task of "uniting reality with Utopia": "Boldness toward Utopia is the only way to be truly realistic... we need a new real Utopia" (A. Peccei, "One Hundred Pages for the Future," p. 165).

Such illusory idealistic concepts of the future are regarded by the imperialist bourgeoisie as a means of manipulating the minds of the masses, as a means of combatting the organized workers' movement. The futurologists fear the revolutionary capabilities of the working class and therefore attempt to downplay its place and role in the creation of man's future. "At the present time, the working class expresses the most powerful sentiments of opposition to capitalist development in the West," writes I. Miles. "Its organization has a tendency to assume rather the form of trade union or Social Democratic movements, however... and its political prospects have a tendency to be reformist" (I. Miles, "New Technologies, Old Orders," in "Visions of Desirable Societies," 1983, p. 227).

The ideological concepts created by the futurologists are having a negative effect on the workers' movement. However, they cannot change the objective place of the revolutionary class--the main moving force behind social progress. "It is not a matter of how this or that proletariat or even the entire proletariat sees his objective at a specific time," K. Marx and F. Engels wrote. "It is a matter of what the proletariat in fact is and what it will be historically forced to do in accordance with its existence" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," 2nd Edition, Vol. 2, p. 40). This tenet is of permanent importance and constitutes the methodological basis for social forecasting and for defining the motive force behind progress. An objective, revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism and communism is the future of mankind, despite attempts by the futurologists to restrain that process.

FOOTNOTES

1. Read, for example, V.V. Zagladin and I.T. Frolov, "Globalnyye problemy sovremennosti" [Global Problems of the Contemporary Era], Moscow, 1981; G.S. Khozin, "Globalnyye problemy sovremennosti. Kritika burzhuaiznykh kontseptsiy" [Global Problems of the Contemporary Era: A Critique of Bourgeois Concepts], Moscow, 1982; G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, "Sotsializm i budushcheye" [Socialism and the Future], Moscow, 1983; I.T. Frolov, "Perspektivy cheloveka" [Man's Prospects], Moscow, 1983, and others.
2. Consideration of the futurologist concepts of social reformism and other opportunistic trends is the subject of a separate study.
3. A critique of these concepts is contained in the following books: "Budushcheye chelovecheskogo obshchestva" [The Future of Human Society], Moscow, 1971; E.A. Arab-Ogly, "V labirinte prorochestv. Sotsialnoye prognozirovaniye i ideologicheskaya borba" [In the Labyrinth of Prophecies: Social Forecasting and the Ideological Struggle], Moscow, 1973; "Borba

idey v sovremennom mire" [The Battle of Ideas in the Contemporary World], Moscow, 1976, Vol. 2, and others.

4. A critical analysis of the world-outlook bases of bourgeois pessimism during those years is presented in the works: D.M. Gvishiani, "Methodological Problems in the Modeling of Global Development," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No. 2, 1978; M.N. Rutkevich, "Dialektika i sotsiologiya" [Dialectics and Sociology], Moscow, 1980, and others.
5. Read E.A. Arab-Ogly, "Demograficheskiye i ekologicheskiye prognozy" [Demographic and Ecological Forecasts], Moscow, 1978; S.I. Popov, "Sotsializm i Optimizm" [Socialism and Optimism], Moscow, 1981; "'Modeli mira' i obraz cheloveka (Kriticheskiy analiz idey Rimskogo kluba)" ["Models of the World" and Man's Image (A Critical Analysis of Ideas of the Club of Rome)], Moscow, 1982.

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11499

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JUNE 1985 ASSIGNMENTS OF CORRESPONDENTS ABROAD

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 6, Jun 85 pp 74,75

[Official Section: "Assignments"]

[Excerpts] Alexandr Semyonovich VOROPAYEV has been confirmed as TASS section chief in the Republic of Cuba.

Born in 1941, he is a graduate of the Moscow Pedagogical Institute for Foreign Languages imeni M. Toreza, and has been working for TASS since 1971. He was an editor in the Main Editorial Department for Foreign Information, was a TASS correspondent in Nicaragua, and was an editor in the editorial department for the countries of America at the TASS Main Editorial Department. From 1983 through 1985 he has been working as a correspondent, and then as deputy chief of the TASS section in the Republic of Cuba.

Aleksandr Vladimirovich KRIVOPALOV has been confirmed as a correspondent for the newspaper IZVESTIYA in Great Britain.

Born in 1931, he is a graduate of the Moscow Foreign Relations Institute, and has worked as a newsman since 1957. He has held positions as a literary associate, deputy editor, and foreign department editor of the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Since 1969 he has been with the newspaper IZVESTIYA; he has been a foreign commentator and a correspondent for this newspaper in Czechoslovakia, Italy and France. Since 1984 he has been deputy executive secretary for the newspaper IZVESTIYA.

Vladimir Petrovich RADYUKHIN has been confirmed as bureau chief for the Novosti Press Agency [APN] in Indonesia.

Born in 1946, he is a graduate of the Moscow Pedagogical Institute for Foreign Languages imeni M. Toreza, and has worked for APN since 1970. He was an editor at the APN information center in India, and was consulting editor and executive secretary to the Main Editorial Department for Asia. Since 1984 he has worked as deputy chief of the APN Bureau in Indonesia.

Sergey Andreyevich SOLOVYEV has been confirmed as TASS correspondent in Thailand.

He was born in 1927, graduated from the Moscow Institute for Oriental Studies, and has been working for TASS since 1950. Solovyev has been deputy department chief for countries of the Far East, deputy chief of the editorial department for socialist countries of Asia and countries of Southeast Asia. He worked as a TASS correspondent in the United Arab Republic, and was a TASS section chief in Indonesia and Pakistan. He was chief publisher and deputy chief editor at the TASS Main Editorial Department for Operational Information. From 1976 through 1982 he worked as deputy chief editor and then first deputy chief editor at the TASS Main Editorial Department for Foreign Information. Since 1982 he has been working as a TASS correspondent in Australia.

Boris Vladimirovich SHCHERBAKOV has been confirmed as TASS section chief in Venezuela.

Born in 1940, he is a graduate of the Moscow Pedagogical Institute for Foreign Languages imeni M. Toreza. He has been working for TASS since 1968, and was an editor in the editorial department for Latin American countries at the TASS Main Editorial Department for Foreign Information; editor of a TASS section in Chili; was a TASS correspondent in Brazil, and was a correspondent for a TASS section in Cuba. Since 1981 he has been senior editor for American countries at the TASS Main Editorial Department for Foreign Information.

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9006

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

'STRUCTURAL CHANGES' IN ILO'S TRIPARTITE STRUCTURE URGED

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 25, Jun 85 pp 14-15

[Article by R. Panteleimonov]

[Text]

In time for the 71st session of the International Labour Organization's General Conference, which opened in Geneva on June 7, the ILO's secretariat—the International Labour Office—prepared a series of reports. The main report outlines the trend of a general discussion at the Conference's plenary meetings and in its committees.

What subject has the International Labour Office selected for the debates to centre upon? It regards the problem of tripartism as the key one. The main theme of the report is "Industrial Relations and Tripartism: Structural Mutations, Dialogue and Social Progress." Its main author, the Director-General of the International Labour Office, explains in the foreword that tripartism is taken up not as a "plat du jour" but as a fundamental problem essential to the very existence of the ILO. "The first part of the report invites a discussion of the evolution and future prospects in the sphere constituting the core of the ILO's activity—industrial relations and tripartism," Mr Francis Blanchard writes. To believe him, tripartism reigns supreme not only in, but also outside, the organization he heads. "I do not claim this to be so from the theoretical point of view," he adds, "but in day-to-day realities this is precisely the case."

Let me remind the reader what "industrial relations," "tripartism" and

"dialogue" mean "theoretically" and in terms of "day-to-day realities." The International Labour Organization emerged in 1919, its purpose being to translate into life the socio-reformist idea of ensuring class peace through collective bargaining between the employed and employers under the auspices of the state. Under this scenario, the state lays down the "rules of the game" and the other two "partners" are to "play according to the rules." But the thing is that what is involved is no game—no, it is uncompromising class struggle, which is inherent in the very nature of capitalist society. For in that society the exploiters have a class monopoly of the means of production, and the worker has to sell his labour to them for a living.

Over the years of the ILO's existence, class battles have proved the erroneousness of the "tripartism principle" and stripped this cover from the antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist society. Revolutionary upheavals in a number of countries; a steady growth of the proletariat's strike movement, massive popular action against the arms race—all this has dispelled the reformist "dialogue" and "tripartism" myths.

Nevertheless, the International Labour Office keeps clinging to the threadbare "tripartism" theory in order to swerve the masses from the time-tested road of

class struggle. It never tires of saying how worried it is about the future, which, with the structural changes already long necessary, challenges the ILO's "tripartite" platform. From the capitalist world economy comes the challenge of slowing growth rates, spiralling inflation and ever growing international indebtedness which hits the developing countries especially hard. From technology, the danger of a massive loss of jobs, and from social relations, the danger of women's influx into the economically active sections of the population. But who is to meet these challenges coming, in the final analysis, from the contradictions of scientific and technological progress in conditions of private enterprise?

The authors of the report ignore the developments of the past few decades, much in evidence in the capitalist world, like a steady numerical growth of the working class which strengthens the positions of the international proletariat, and a rise in its educational and professional standards. As mass production in industrialized capitalist countries gained in scale, it drew new detachments of young people, women and immigrant workers into its orbit. The number of those employed in those countries grew from 158 million to 269 million over the period of 1950-79. In the thirty years their proportion in the economically active population increased from two thirds to four fifths. This meant, above all, an increase in the share of the proletariat from the bare majority of 56.9 per cent to the impressive majority of 70 per cent.

The apparent conclusion stemming from these objective trends of social development is that the very formula of tripartism (two government delegates, one employers' delegate and one labour delegate) ought to be changed in favour of the working people. Besides, the postwar years saw a merger of the bourgeois state apparatus with the monopoly-controlled industry—take the military-industrial complex, for instance.

The authors of the International Labour Office report draw absolutely unwarranted conclusions from such indisputable facts as the consolidation and growth of various detachments of the world's labour army, on the one hand, and the intertwining of Big Business and state interests, on the other. These conclusions are intended to

intimidate hired labour. The report claims, for instance, that the trade union organizations' positions vis-à-vis the employers are gradually weakening due to the fact that many rank-and-file union members do not dare take direct industrial action for better hiring terms. The trade unions have allegedly yielded the initiative to the employers and to the state authorities, with the result that the trade unions are shrinking numerically and becoming less active politically.

Even the facts which suggest encouraging conclusions are used by the authors of the report to scare the trade unions with. One of such facts is, for instance, that new categories of working women, youth, foreigners and brain-workers have joined the world army of labour over the past decades. The report presents this as a manifestation of the weakening of the trade unions' positions. Instead of encouraging the trade unions to enlist new forces in the ranks of organized working people the ILO headquarters' theoreticians regard the new labour contingents as a burden, as the trade unions' rivals in collective bargaining.

The authors of the report are trying to blackmail the unions into believing that the working people may miss the opportune moment for entering into a dialogue with the employers to discuss "pressing problems" with them. Listed among these problems is that of raising the level of employment. By the International Labour Office's logic, the solution of this problem lies in the unions' negotiations with the employers on the amount of working time which the employers are prepared to distribute among those employed to avoid mass layoffs.

The trade unions are invited to prepare in advance for dividing the work in hand equally among those willing to do it. The ways of achieving full employment with a six-hour work-day, a 32- or even a 30-hour work week are recommended. The impression is that the "leisure civilization" the U.S. talked about 15 years ago is just around the corner. Incidentally, the American model of a "standing collective bargaining mechanism," allegedly set going by the AFL-CIO, is held up as an example for the developing countries to follow. As for the socialist countries' labour organizations, the report has no praise for them. They are reproached of taking an active part in drawing up

state plans of economic and social development instead of exercising autonomy.

The report boils down to lauding the long-obsoluscent theory of the three sides allegedly having independent interests and the practice, which has long compromised itself, of a dialogue between the employers and the trade unions under state supervision. The idea is to give the developing countries the impression that the West, of which the International Labour Office leadership has long been a mouthpiece, can offer an ideological recipe for mitigating irreconcilable class antagonisms.

The first part of the report which sets forth the ideas underlying tripartite partnership is intended as a theoretical cover-up for the second part of the document, which describes in detail the ILO's activities in 1984 marked by few, if any, new ideas. Actually, the account of the organization's practical work only goes to illustrate its theoretical poverty.

The authors of the report themselves expect no wonders from the "tripartism" recipe. "The determinant factor is, no doubt, the existence or absence of mutual confidence, that none of the parties intends to crush the other, but minds its interests, and believes that the problems still not fully solved will be tackled at the proper moment in the spirit of accord and good will," the authors write in a discreet manner at first, only to add in the same breath: "Unfortunately, the idea that the trade unions and the employers are to start with establishing mutual confidence is scoffed at by certain quarters. More often than not this scepticism stems from a disappointing personal experience."

The International Labour Office bosses just waste their time lauding the conciliatory "tripartite" deals between the exploiters and the exploited: in conditions of capitalism this "tripartism" is always a one-sided affair because it serves solely to further enslave the workingman.

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

PARTICIPANTS IN MOSCOW YOUTH FESTIVAL

[Editorial Report] Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 25 Jul 85 states that Comrade Sam Sundoeun attended the Moscow Youth Festival as chairman of the Cambodian Youth Delegation.

Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Jul 85 states that the following were members of the Canadian delegation to the Moscow Youth Festival: Vicky Halloway, head of the national organizing committee and Rebecca Smollett, an activist of an antiwar organization in her native city of Regina. The preparations for the festival were initiated by the Communist Youth League of Canada.

Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 23 Jul 85 states that Japanese youth representing the Socialist Youth League, the Youth Department of Sohyo [the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan] and the Japan Youth Association will participate in the Moscow Youth Festival.

Moscow International Service in Korean 1130 GMT 27 Jul 85 states that the Chongnyon Youth League [of Korean youths residing in Japan], chaired by Comrade kim Hak-su, and the fatherland's League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea are participating in the Moscow Youth Festival.

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Jul 85 First Edition carries on page 5 a 500-word article by APN correspondent V. Simonov under the rubric "The Enemies of the Youth Forum": "The Order Still Stands: Keep Slandering!". It states that Beatrice Prado is a representative of the Los Angeles Festival Preparatory Committee.

Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Jul 85 states that the following will represent the United States in the Moscow Youth Festival: James Steele, co-chairman of the National Preparatory Committee of the festival; the daughter of Martin Luther King and the son of Jesse Jackson.

Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 27 Jul 85 states that Olympic champion Alberto Juantorena is a member of the Cuban delegation to the Moscow Youth Festival.

Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 28 Jul 85 states that among those who attended the Moscow Youth Festival were Secretary General of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Nouri Abdel Razzak [TASS spelling], President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) Sam Nujoma, U.S. member Angela Davis and Miguel Marmol, veteran of the liberation movement in El Salvador.

Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 28 Jul 85 states that the following took part in a discussion at the Center on Problems of Peace and Disarmament during the Moscow Youth Festival: Shuaib Uthman Yolah from Nigeria, UN deputy secretary general for economic and social problems; Petr Cwietalski from Poland; Martin Vincent from France; and Anthony Rotschild and Peter Caldwell from the United States. Peter Caldwell is a special assistant to U.S. Congressman George Crockett.

Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 1 Aug 85 mentions that Lindiwe Mabuza is a member of the ANC delegation to the Moscow Youth Festival.

Moscow International Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 31 Jul 85 features an interview with Ali Ya'ta, secretary general of the Party of Progress and Socialism in Morocco and a participant in the Moscow Youth Festival.

Moscow International Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 27 Jul 85 states that the following are guests of honor at the Moscow Youth Festival: Janos Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Gyorgy Fejti, first secretary of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen county party committee, formerly first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee; Bertalan Farkas, the first Hungarian cosmonaut; and Sandor Rajnai, MSZMP Central Committee member, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to Moscow. Judit Szendrei, member of the Hungarian IFYS club and announcer on Hungarian television and Csaba Hamori, member of the MSZMP politburo and first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee are participants in the festival.

Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 3 Aug 85 mentions that Japan Socialist Youth League International Department Chief Norito Kabashima delivered a speech at a rally during the Moscow Youth Festival.

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Aug 85 First Edition p 5 carries a 700-word article stating that Luis Cardoso is a Portuguese delegate and (Zhyul Maaten) is a Dutch delegate to the Moscow Youth Festival.

Moscow TASS in English 1518 GMT 2 Aug 85 states that the following are taking part in the Moscow Youth Festival: French cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien, Czechoslovak cosmonaut Vladimir Remek, Cuban cosmonaut Arnaldo Tamayo and Polish cosmonaut Miroslaw Hermaszewski.

Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 2 Aug 85 mentions that Harry de Fries of the Netherlands is a participant in the Moscow Youth Festival.

Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 2 Aug 85 states that the following religious students took part in the Moscow Youth Festival: Mayra Blatt of Britain, president of the Ecumenical Youth Council in Europe; Pastor Julius Filo, assistant professor of practical theology; and Annegret Mayer of the FRG.

Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 3 Aug 85 mentions that Julian Epstein is one of the leaders of the American delegation at the Moscow Youth Festival.

Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 26 Jul 85 states that Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee is a guest of honor at the Moscow Youth Festival.

Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT 16 Jul 85 mentions that Ghani Husseini [TASS spelling], general secretary of Egypt's Progressive Youth Union is participating in the Moscow Youth Festival.

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 13 July 1985 carries on page 3 a 400-word article stating that the following are to participate in the Moscow Youth Festival: (Tomas Yukhansson), representative of the European Council of National Youth Committees; Vladimir (Iokhannos), member of the Czechoslovak national preparatory committee; (Mariku Soppela), member of the Finnish national preparatory committee; Reginald Mnongo, representative of the Youth and Student Organization of the African National Congress; and (Lunsh Kardezu), member of the Portuguese national preparatory committee.

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

'URGENT' PROBLEMS OF CEMA COUNTRIES' ECONOMIC GROWTH DISCUSSED

Moscow IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK SSSR: SERIYA EKONOMICHESKAYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 85 pp 86-96

[Article by O. Krach: "Vitally Important Problems of Economic Growth in the European CEMA Member-Countries"]

[Text] The article considers new sources and factors of economic growth in the European CEMA countries under conditions of their changeover to the intensive path of development. The author devotes special attention to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and to the expansion of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation among the countries in the socialist community.

Throughout the past decade there have been profound changes in the reproduction conditions in the economy of the European CEMA countries. The essence of those changes can be summarized as the exhaustion of the traditional sources of economic growth: the limitation of the further increase in the primary resources of raw materials, fuel and energy, and manpower in the material-production sphere; the lowering of the production-accumulation norm; etc. The total aggregate of these factors influence the need to make a purposeful changeover to the complete intensification of the national economies of the socialist community, which intensification must be accompanied by a replacement of the traditional sources of economic growth by new ones that are adequate to the changed reproduction conditions. The factors and tendencies of economic development which are typical of the past period are basically no longer in effect. New factors are coming into effect and new tendencies are being formed, which are directly linked with the overcoming of those limitations that arose as a consequence of the exhaustion of the traditional sources of growth. These tendencies include primarily the increasing action of the intensification factors that were influenced primarily by the planned extension of the scientific-technical revolution.

The modern period, to a definite degree, is a transitional one. This is expressed in the fact that, in addition to the lessening of the tendencies that have prevailed up to now, one sees the partial manifestation of those new tendencies and factors which, in all probability, will determine the rate of the further development of the economies of our countries under the conditions of their changeover to the chiefly intensive path. At the same time this

change of factors has so far proved to be insufficiently broad, and that has had an effect upon the rates of economic growth. Most of the European CEMA countries in the late 1970's and early 1980's were typified by a substantial (extremely different for the individual countries) lowering of the growth rates for the national economy, and in Czechoslovakia one even observed its absolute reduction (in 1980 and 1982), albeit an insignificant one. However, in most of the European CEMA countries the growth rate in 1983, as compared with the previous year, rose. Its increase also continued in 1984.

The substantial reasons for these phenomena have already been mentioned both in the party documents of the CEMA member-countries and in the scientific literature. The considerable change in the reproduction conditions required, on the one hand, the carrying out of a number of extraordinary measures to economize materials, fuel, and energy, and, on the other hand, to create the basis for the substantial reorganization of the structure of the national economy, which reorganization would make it possible to open up a path for the long-term directions in guaranteeing the necessary economic growth. That need for the relatively rapid reorientation in resources use and structural policy could not fail to have an effect on the economy growth rates.

The present-day transitional stage is characterized by a number of contradictory phenomena. For example, the increase in the production fixed assets is still outdistancing the increase in the produced national income, that is, the capital-output ratio continues to rise, the growth relationship between the consumption of fuel and materials and the national income in monetary terms has been changing little, and the growth rate of labor productivity, in view of the delayed growth in the national income, naturally, is lower than it was during the period of high growth, and in most of the European CEMA countries the number of persons employed in the material-production sphere continues to increase. At the same time one also observes certain new tendencies in economic development, which are the result of successful movement ahead in the direct of complete intensification.

First, for a number of years in certain of the European CEMA countries there has been a reduction in the specific production consumption of the most important types of fuel and raw materials per unit of national income. In East Germany, for example, that indicator during the 1976-1980 period dropped annually by 2.7 percent; in 1981, by 5.4 percent; and in 1982, by 8 percent. However, this process is not immediately reflected in the growth relationship between national income and production consumption. It was necessary to achieve a reduction in the specific production consumption by no less than 5 percent in order to put a stop to the tendency that had been observed for many years -- the tendency toward the more rapid increase in production consumption as compared to an increase in national income. As a result there arose a new tendency, in conformity with which the regular reduction of the specific production consumption is becoming a factor of economic growth. Whereas in 1980 in the national economy of East Germany approximately 6 percent of the increase in the national income was provided from resources that had been made available, in 1981 that source provided for 20 percent, and, in 1982, 87 percent of the increase in the national income.

For the European CEMA countries as a whole one notes that the overall increase in production consumption as compared with the national income is slowing down. For the sharpest determination of the changes that are occurring in this area, obviously, it would be beneficial to have the additional application of certain physical indicators, which we do not yet have at our disposal.

Another new tendency is linked with the growth relationship between national income and capital investments. For a number of years the produced national income in the European CEMA member-countries has been growing more rapidly than the volume of capital investments in the material-production sphere, that is, the capital intensity of the national income has been dropping. However, this positive tendency is still accompanied by a further increase in the capital-output ratio of the national economy.

How does one explain this contradiction? First, by the positive factor that the increase in the effectiveness of capital investments is accelerating the process of changing them into operational production fixed assets: there has been a noticeable reduction in the duration of the investment process, and the volume of uncompleted capital construction has been constantly dropping. In addition, there has been a steady increase in the percentage of capital investments that have been directly channeled to meet the purposes of increasing the efficiency of the operational production capacities. This increase in the effectiveness of investments has a direct effect in the tendency of reducing the capital intensity of the national economy.

On the other hand, when analyzing the long-term statistical series in the annual increases in the production fixed assets, it is revealed that they possess comparatively high stability. In the national economy of East Germany, for example, during the period from 1961 through 1982, it was only during three years that the norm for the growth of OPF [production fixed assets] was lower than 5 percent, and in the remaining years it exceeded that level, constituting an average of 6 percent. Since the increase in the effectiveness of capital investments is equivalent to the acceleration of the process of converting them into operational fixed assets, to a definite degree it compensates for the reduction in the norm for the increase in capital investments. In addition it is necessary to keep in mind the low rate of withdrawal of fixed assets. Consequently, one of the prerequisites for causing a turning point in the dynamics of capital intensity is a sufficiently high rate of growth of produced national income.

The recognition of the fact that the relatively low rates of growth (and, in individual years, the reduction in the volume) of capital investments constitute an enforced phenomenon does not preclude the fact of the reduction of capital intensity over a relatively prolonged period of time.

Thirdly, one can observe a number of phenomena which, in certain of the CEMA countries, are taking on the nature of a new tendency in development. We might mention only the fact that a number of countries have overcome a tendency that has prevailed for many years -- the tendency toward the outstripping increase in the number of work stations as compared to the

increase in the labor resources. Simultaneously there has been an acceleration of the rate of renovation of the variety of output and the corresponding technological processes. And, as is well known, the process of production innovation is linked with the acceleration of scientific-technical progress -- the chief factor of economic growth in the CEMA countries.

These positive tendencies completely conform to the requirements for the changeover to a higher level of intensification of social production.

Thus, when analyzing the new problems of economic growth under the conditions of the changeover to complete intensification in the framework of the community of CEMA countries, it is necessary to take into consideration all those limitations that evolve from the substantial changes in the conditions of economic development. It is also important to see those new opportunities that are opened up by the broad and planned extension of the innovational processes when accelerating the scientific-technical progress in the national economies of the CEMA countries.

The factors which determine the directions and rate of economic growth have always been directly linked with the basic elements of the labor process -- with the means and objects of labor and with live labor. When grouping the factors of economic growth, it is desirable to base oneself specifically on this. In speaking of economic growth under conditions of the changeover to complete intensification, it is necessary to put the chief emphasis on the regrouping of the sources of growth, a regrouping which opens up the path to the further successful development of the national economies of the CEMA countries.

Proceeding from these considerations, in our opinion, it is possible to isolate three groups of economic growth factors.

The first group of factors is linked with the positive changes in the growth relationships of the national income and consumption of the primary sources of raw materials, fuel, and energy; this is currently becoming an absolutely mandatory condition for every kind of future economic growth.

The considerable improvement of the use of the available material resources leads to a situation in which, over a prolonged period of time, the increase in the national income is achieved with a comparatively slow increase in the consumption of the primary sources of raw materials, fuel, and energy. The deeper and deeper processing of the initial materials, the organizing of the maximum recycling of the consumed substances, and the broad introduction of technological schemes with no waste products are contributing to a situation in which, from each unit of primary material, one extracts an increasing volume of consumer value, and the increase in the national income, to a considerable degree, is achieved as a result of the economized resources.

The second group of growth factors is linked with the extension of the scientific-technical revolution.

The noticeable acceleration of scientific-technical progress by means of the extension of the scientific-technical revolution is currently the chief, key

factor in economic growth. The essence of the changeover to complete intensification can be summarized as the considerable increase in the percentage of the innovational processes in the production of material blessings. Innovation also encompasses simultaneously the constant renovation of the variety of output and the technological schemes for manufacturing that output. And this is the chief direction for overcoming the limitations that have arisen on the path of the further development of production and for searching for new ways to assure stable economic growth in the future.

The acceleration of the innovational processes is favored by the arising of a number of base innovations in the form of microelectronics, robotics, flexible automation centers, laser technology, biotechnology, etc. The task today consists in the rapid application and broad dissemination of these base innovations in various areas which are a very important source of the further assured economic growth in the countries of the socialist community.

The third group is linked with a factor that is expressed by the concept "organization of the economic process."

The range of this concept, of course, is extremely broad. However, it always presupposes the existence of such a "subjective" factor of the economic process as live life, and the methods of organizing it. This concept equally encompasses several factors: the planned nature, the coordinated nature, and the discipline of production activity at all levels of economic administration; incentives for people to raise their level of proficiency and for their creative, conscientious labor; and the constant adaptation of the entire economic mechanism to the changing conditions of the reproduction process. The broader the scope of the created economic potential and the more rapid the carrying out of the scientific-technical progress, the greater the degree to which the social effectiveness of production depends upon the level and effectiveness of the organization factor.

The importance of the organization factor should also not be underestimated because a noticeable increase in the effectiveness of production is achieved when there is a combined interaction among all the factors of economic growth, and this, in its turn, is guaranteed only when there is a high level of organization of economic life.

In connection with the groups of factors which have been enumerated, it is necessary to make two comments.

First, one sometimes hears that, with the approach that has been mentioned, there is no observance of the principle of the equal accounting of the qualitative parameters when comparing the growth factors. Especially often one hears expressions of doubt that the economizing of material expenditures can act as a long-term factor of economic growth: it is considered, rather, a short-term phenomenon.

However, it is necessary to take into consideration the achieved scope of the economic potential of the CEMA countries. The European CEMA countries in 1981 produced and consumed approximately 520 million tons of stone coal, 635 million tons of brown coal, 620 million tons of petroleum, 480 billion cubic

meters of natural gas, 510 million tons of iron ore, 200 million tons of steel, and 190 million tons of cement. If the growth interrelationships that had developed between the national income and the consumption of the primary resources of raw materials, fuel, and energy had been preserved subsequently, the doubling of the volume of the produced national income (and that was the goal that was assigned) would have required the annual production of more than 2 billion tons of coal, 1.2 billion tons of petroleum, etc.

Meanwhile it can be assumed that, for certain very important nonreproducible resources, practically speaking, the economically efficient limit of further growth has already been achieved, since even the preservation of the achieved level of their production today requires rapidly growing additional efforts. And inasmuch as the opportunities for the use of alternative resources are, as yet, limited, the guaranteeing of further economic growth presupposes substantial changes in the relationship between the increase in the national income and the increase in the consumption of raw materials and fuel.

Thus, it follows from the need for a noticeable slowdown in the increase in the consumption of primary resources of raw materials, fuel, and energy that the sources for further stable economic growth, to a greater and greater degree, must be sought in the confines of the cycle of the reproduction process themselves, and that the economizing of material expenditures is becoming a constantly existing factor in this growth.

Secondly, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress as the chief motivating force among the economic growth factors presupposes the composite nature of the interactions among the latter.

Suffice it to point out the link between the necessary positive change of the growth relationships between national income and the consumption of the primary sources of raw materials, fuel, and energy, on the one hand, and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress with regard to the development of resource-saving technological schemes, on the other.

The European CEMA member-countries in recent years have achieved noticeable success in the area of reducing the specific consumption of raw materials and fuel. We have already mentioned that. The first successes in this area were achieved chiefly by means of their more economical expenditure while using the particular technological scheme. Practical life pointed out that the more rigid observance of economy measures when using materials, fuel, and energy, the elimination of wasteful procedures, the use of materials, fuel, and energy for the specific purpose for which they were intended, the reclaiming of production and household waste, and the recycling of secondary raw materials, etc. make available, on the basis of the existing traditional technological schemes, so many resources that they alone, to no small extent, can guarantee a further growth in the national income.

This source has not yet been exhausted. In East Germany in 1983 the share of secondary raw materials in the total consumption of raw materials reached approximately 12 percent. But that is by no means the limit. In the USSR it has been computed that if everything that we extract from the bowels of the earth is taken as 100 percent [3, 5 November 1984], the final finished

product, based on weight, constitutes no more than 7 percent. However, in order, in the long-term future, to guarantee a substantial reduction in the specific expenditure of materials and fuel -- as a minimum by 5 percent annually -- it is necessary for the economizing in the use of resources to be combined to an increasing degree with the transformation of production to a qualitatively new technical base.

But this is only one aspect. The chief factor that determines the leading role and place of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress in the series of growth factors consists in that, under the present conditions, a prerequisite for every kind of economic growth is the outstripping increase in the effectiveness of social production. On the basis of an increase in effectiveness, one makes available and creates the means that are necessary for the broad formation of new directions of economic development and the fundamental reorganization of the production structure.

At the Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Member-Countries that was held on 12-14 June 1984 in Moscow, its participants came to the unanimous conclusion that "the leading link in the economic strategy of the CEMA countries for the foreseeable future is the acceleration of scientific-technical progress" [2]. The changeover to complete intensification of the reproduction process is directly linked with the present-day directions in the development of productive forces. "All the facts testify that the rapid development of the productive forces is being preserved. The way in which we will be able to keep in step with this determines, in the final analysis, our country's economic rank and the national standard of living" [4].

Research and forecasts that pertain to economic growth under the conditions of the changeover to complete intensification, first of all, must be aimed at ascertaining the chief directions of scientific-technical progress and their economic evaluation, at determining the influence that the acceleration of scientific-technical progress has upon the effective reorganization of the structures of the national economy and the entire reproduction process, with the subsequent determination of the expected rates of economic growth in the CEMA countries.

In this regard it would seem to be necessary to touch upon certain questions of a more general nature.

Question 1: What today is the specific meaning of "acceleration of scientific-technical progress"? At what stage of this process are we located at the present time?

If one understands the acceleration of scientific-technical progress as the noticeable increase in the percentage of key innovational processes in the overall rate of expanded reproduction, it is necessary to trace the development of the component elements of innovation.

In our opinion, it is correct to note that the base innovations that will determine the dynamic growth of the productive forces in the foreseeable future are already, for the most part, already known and are in the stage of their direct introduction into the process of social production. The

acceleration of scientific-technical progress, thus, at the present time means the acceleration of the dissemination of, and the large-scale use of, various technical and technological innovations that are based on those base innovations. Moreover, the development of the base innovations during the past 10-15 years has reached a level when their wide-scale application can lead to a sharp increase in the effectiveness of social production.

A graphic example of this can be provided by the development and application of microelectronics, which is justly considered to be the chief link among all the base innovations. Within five years the transistor that had been invented in 1948 was introduced into production. In the 1950's and 1960's it successfully and rather rapidly replaced the electric tube. Then there followed the creation of microelectronic integrated circuits. And in the 1970's microprocessors began to be developed and disseminated.

There was a similar development in robotics. In a number of the CEMA member-countries, in the early 1970's, there arose the first industrial manipulators and robots, and now their development and manufacture are receiving rather wide scope, and the number of second-generation robots is already growing.

The unification of machine tools with digital programmed control in the same scheme with industrial robots and control devices on the basis of mini- and microcomputers guarantees the creation of flexible automated processing centers. The latter guarantee that increase in effectiveness which greatly exceeds the total amount of effectiveness from the functioning of each of the component parts individually.

The same thing can be said about other base innovations. This pertains also to nuclear power engineering, the development of which has received such scope that in the long-term view almost the entire increase in the production of electrical energy will be achieved as a result of new AES [nuclear power plants]. In the area of biology also so many significant discoveries have been made that the proposal has even been made to give our age the name the "age of biology." In particular, there has been a rapid development of biotechnology, especially gene engineering.

All this shows that, over the past 10-20 years, a tremendous backlog of innovational potentials has been created. Thus, the foundations have been prepared for the entry of the national economy of the CEMA countries into a new phase, which is typified by the predominance of the large-scale introduction and use of innovations in production itself. At the same time, of course, the process of the development and improvement of the base innovations, the transition to the creation of new, more complicated generations of technology, is continuing to deepen.

It is precisely this phase to which the economic strategy developed by the Communist and workers' parties of the European CEMA member-countries is oriented. At the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it was stated, "It will be necessary to carry out the automation of production, to guarantee the broadest application of computers and robots, the introduction of flexible technological schemes that make it possible rapidly and effectively to reorganize production for the manufacture of new output. The

future of our power engineering is primarily the use of the latest nuclear reactors, and in the long term the practical resolution of the problem of controllable thermonuclear synthesis. The agenda also contains such tasks as the obtaining of materials with preassigned properties, the development of biotechnology, and the broad application in industry of technological schemes that are waste-free and that are energy-saving. All this will lead to a true revolution in our national economy" [1].

These processes are of a worldwide nature, although they do have their own substantial differentiating peculiarities, which are influenced by the specific social environment in which they occur. In the socialist world the control of the process of transition to complete intensification by means of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress is carried out in a planned manner, in conformity with social goals. The experience of the CEMA member-countries, which in recent years have been applying considerable efforts to assuring that the mechanism for the planned control of this process is optimally adapted to the new reproduction conditions, demonstrates that the improvement of the economic mechanisms opens up new opportunities for the acceleration of economic growth.

In this direction one sees the effect also of the further improvement of the forms and methods of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among the CEMA countries, which improvement was mentioned at the Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Member-Countries. In particular, we have in mind the joint elaboration, on the basis of the national programs, of a comprehensive program for scientific-technical progress for a 15-20 year period as a base for the development of a coordinated -- and in certain branches, single -- scientific-technical policy. Precisely at the present time, when the CEMA countries have entered the phase of large-scale introduction and use of innovations in production itself, the appropriate international division of labor must noticeably multiply the efforts in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

Question 2: This question is linked with the sources of guaranteeing the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

It is indisputable that the carrying out of innovations of significance to the national economy requires, as a rule, considerable lump-sum expenditures. But the volume of capital investments is limited. Does this mean that there exists an irresolvable contradiction between the need for the most rapid reorganization of the material-technical base of the economy, on the one hand, and the shortage of funds necessary for that purpose, on the other? Sometimes, in debates, the question is posed in exactly this way.

In our opinion, that posing of the question with which one opposes the other does not affect all aspects of the occurring process of complete intensification on the basis of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. First of all, there is no consideration of the fact that the innovations not only require the investment of considerable funds, but also simultaneously free or form new funds. And therein lies one of the chief goals of every innovational process, because one of the typical features of complete intensification consists in the fact that expanded reproduction, to a

greater and greater degree, is based on the use of internal (freed) production resources.

In this regard, two aspects are of interest.

The first is linked with the phases of the innovational process. It is generally known that, when assimilating the "first new models," the expenditures are usually much higher than in the production of the "old" output. However, after this "initial ignition" and the initial stage of the adaptation of the innovation, with the changeover to the phase of its large-scale use in various areas of social production, the situation changes fundamentally. For the producer there is a substantial lowering of the expenditures (a consequence of which is, for example, the sharp drop in worldwide prices for the microelectronic output), and for the consumer there is usually a considerable freeing of material resources and manpower.

True, the changeover from the phase of adaptation and assimilation of the innovation to the phase of its large-scale application is not a one-time act. The innovational process is a continuous process, in which new and increasingly complicated generations of output are created. Therefore there is always a definite intertwining of these phases between one another, as well as the reduction of the phase of the "maturity" of the particular product or technological process, where the correlation between the results and the expenditures are the most favorable. It would seem that, on the basis of the planned control of the process of scientific-technical progress, one will find the ways to establish the optimal proportions in this alternation of the various phases of the innovational process.

The second aspect lies in the fact that a large benefit from innovations is achieved only provided the freed funds are immediately reused in the reproduction process.

Relative to the material resources that are being freed, this is completely obvious. Their use makes it possible to avoid a considerable buildup in the extraction of primary resources. This pertains equally to freed manpower. When it is used, obviously, there must be no lowering of the proficiency level that has been achieved, but, as a result of the increased demands on the quality of labor under conditions of the innovational process, it can even rise.

In the CEMA countries a definite amount of experience in this matter has already been accumulated. In East Germany, for example, a considerable amount of the manpower that has been freed within combines is being channeled into those shops or to those plants which are specializing exclusively in the production of means to increase the efficiency of the production process. Thus, there has been a multiplying of the combines' own innovational potential for the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

Question 3: This question is linked with the form of implementation of the innovational processes, primarily with a change in the proportion between the construction of new enterprises and the modernization of existing ones. The development and implementation of new technological principles and means must

be combined to the maximum extent with the efficient use of the existing production methods, with their adaptation to the new technological level. Although this requirement has already become part of the strategy for the economic development of a number of the CEMA countries, disputes concerning this posing of the question are still continuing. There have been different interpretations of the very concept "modernization," and different judgments have been stated about the possible extent of the correlation between new construction and the modernization of the existing enterprises. Therefore the question arises: what is the basis for making such a decisive requirement?

Proceeding from the indisputable fact that, in the European CEMA member-countries during the previous decades, there has been created a tremendous production potential with a developed machine-building complex, there are justifications for assuming that the further increase in national income in conformity with the goals that have been set depends not so much upon the additional creation of new enterprises as it does upon the efficient use of the existing one. Under these conditions, every expansion of production potential by means of new construction leads to a situation in which the existing production capacities are used less completely or are partially liquidated. Constant modernization (renovation) of the existing fixed production assets therefore becomes a decisive factor in the growth of production potential.

The experience of the socialist countries in the modernization of the existing equipment, in the remodeling of entire enterprises, demonstrates that the objectively influenced reorientation in the sphere of increasing the production potential from the preferential creation of new enterprises to the intensified modernization (renovation) of the existing ones not only does not limit the opportunities for the formation of technological progress, but, on the contrary, accelerates it. This is confirmed by a number of positive changes that are directly linked with this reorientation.

First, the rates of increase in the social effectiveness of production, the economizing of the material, labor, and other resources, and the improvement of the quality of output at the present time depend decisively upon the rapidity and breadth (comprehensiveness) of the introduction and use of innovations in various branches. The shortest path in this regard lies in the introduction of innovations into the existing production capacities.

Secondly, the production capacities of the national economy at every given moment are made up of a definite number of enterprises that are equipped with modern technology and a number of enterprises with obsolete technology. Inasmuch as the level of labor productivity when using obsolete equipment is lower than the average, and the expenditures of materials, fuel, and energy are usually much higher, the benefit from the one-time innovations is largely absorbed by the higher expenditures in other sectors of the national economy that are lagging. The reorientation toward the constant large-scale modernization of the existing production capacities has been called up to contribute to overcome this contradiction, and this in the final analysis will guarantee the elimination of tremendous losses.

Thirdly, the expanded reproduction of production capacities on the basis of the increase in efficiency and the modernization of the existing fixed assets and the replacement of the fixed assets that are being withdrawn by those that are technically and technologically improved exerts a positive influence also upon the dynamics of the capital intensity of the national economy. During recent years the major part of the total amount of capital investments went into the fulfillment of construction operations. That meant that those capital investments for a relatively long period of time (5-10 years) were in the investment process itself, and, consequently, were late in beginning to pay for themselves. At the present time in certain CEMA countries more than 50 percent of the specific expenditures are being channeled into the modernization of existing enterprises. The period of repayment of the capital investments in this instance begins after two years, and, in addition, there is a substantial reduction in the volume of uncompleted capital construction. This explains, for example, the fact that in the national economy of East Germany, with an annual increase in the national income in 1979-1981 in an amount of more than 4 percent, the increase in the volume of capital investments constituted less than 1.4 percent.

All this confirms the desirability and effectiveness of the reorientation in the area of the reproduction of fixed production assets toward the introduction of progressive equipment and the setting up of new technological lines in the maximum combination with the efficient use of the existing means, and their adaptation to the new technological level. In this sense it is possible to speak of the carrying out of expanded reproduction by way of simple reproduction. Of course, it is also necessary to continue to create new projects. But the consistent observance of the true unity of expanded and simple reproduction makes it possible to improve the correlations between the construction of new enterprises and the modernization of the existing production capacities, especially in the machine-building complex of the CEMA countries.

In the Statement Concerning the Basic Directions in the Further Development and Deepening of the Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Among the CEMA Member-Countries, which was unanimously approved at the Economic Summit Meeting of the CEMA Member Countries on 12-14 June 1984 in Moscow, it is indicated "that the CEMA member countries have at their disposal everything necessary to raise the mutual cooperation to a new level," and "to take a new step in deepening the coordination among the CEMA countries of their economic policy..." As one of the most important tasks, the Conference participants defined the acceleration of the changeover of the economy "to the intensive path, the increasing of its effectiveness by means of the improvement of the structure of social production, the efficient and economical use of the existing material and labor resources, and the better use of fixed assets and the scientific-technical potential" [3, 16 June 1984].

The orientation on stable economic growth presupposes the further development of the international socialist division of labor under the new conditions, in order, by joint efforts, to resolve successfully and promptly those major economic tasks that evolve from the common interests of all the European CEMA countries.

Two aspects of the problem are of special interest here.

The first concerns the interrelationships between the development of the international socialist division of labor and the national-economic structures in the individual countries.

During the 35-year period of successful cooperation, in the CEMA member-countries there have formed those national-economic structures which have proven to be adapted chiefly for the mutual satisfying of the needs for specific products and services. The chief commodity flows for the countries under these conditions were channeled to the market of reciprocal trade within our community. As a result, among the CEMA countries there arose a number of stable structural interrelationships that guarantee their continuous supply with necessary products on the basis of mutual advantage.

At the same time it is obvious that the changeover of the national economies to a system of intensification will result in rather substantial changes in those structures. The planned shifts in the reproduction structure of social production will have an influence both upon the branch structure and upon the foreign-trade structure of the national economies. But with the planned administration of the processes of the change of the economic structures in the CEMA countries, it is necessary to take into consideration the substantial high degree of their reciprocal intertwining. This presupposes the precise coordination of the structural policy within the confines of the community. The effective reorganization of the national-economic structures of the CEMA countries in the final analysis should lead to a more complete satisfying of their current and future needs.

Another aspect of the problem is linked with the orientation of the community toward the acceleration of the scientific-technical progress. All the measures to deepen the socialist economic integration must contribute to the changeover of the economies of the CEMA member-countries to the path of complete intensification. The economic growth factors under conditions of intensification also determine the chief directions in the improvement of the scientific-technical and economic cooperation among the CEMA countries.

There has been a considerable increase in the importance of the coordinated and joint elaboration and reciprocal exchange of new technological schemes and equipment that promote the more efficient and more economical use of raw materials, fuel, and energy. This direction of activity exerts a positive influence upon the change of the growth correlation between the produced national income and the consumption of the primary resources of raw materials, fuel, and energy. And that simultaneously is an important aspect of the further guaranteeing that the national economies of the CEMA countries will be provided with raw materials and fuel.

The acceleration of scientific-technical progress in the CEMA countries at the given stage of development is achieved chiefly by means of the rapid assimilation and large-scale use of innovations in the economy. The coordination of scientific-technical policy on the basis of the comprehensive program for the scientific-technical progress of the CEMA member-countries for

the period until the year 2000 can raise the international socialist division of labor to a new level, and can create conditions under which, by the joint efforts of the countries, they will achieve a considerable advantage in time when resolving large-scale tasks of the reorganization of their economies on the basis of new technology and technological schemes.

I would also like to direct attention to the fact that one of the typical features of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress at the present time is the noticeable increase in the coefficient of renovation of industrial output. In East Germany, for example, this coefficient has reached 0.2 (that is, annually approximately 20 percent of the output is renewed) and it is planned to increase it to 0.3. This means that each new article must be produced only for a definite period of time -- no more than 3-5 years -- after which it is replaced by a new one. On the one hand, this leads to an increase in the expenditures to prepare and assimilate the new output (inasmuch as each new article must differ from the previous one by its higher consumer cost, with a simultaneously more economical expenditure of the material resources to produce it), and, on the other hand, the time period until the article being produced is replaced by the new one is greatly reduced. In resolving such difficulties, a tremendous role is played by the reliable inclusion of the national economy of the CEMA countries in the international socialist division of labor.

A factor that is taking on greater and greater importance in the scientific-technical and economic cooperation among the CEMA member-countries at the given stage of their development is the modernization of the existing production capacities. The first experiments in this area of cooperation indicate its high effectiveness. And that means that, in addition to the exchange of machinery and equipment, there has also been an exchange of the so-called "nonmaterial" services -- technological elaborations and organizational experience, licenses, know-how, etc.

The analysis of the processes and changes occurring during the changeover of the European CEMA countries to the path of the complete intensification of production gives all justifications for concluding that in them one already sees the creation and expansion of considerable prerequisites for a certain increase in the rates of guaranteeing stable economic growth in the foreseeable future. These are, primarily, new sources of economic growth which are contained in the accumulated backlog of base innovations and in the increase in the contribution of socialist economic integration to the intensification of the social production of the CEMA member-countries.

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

PROBLEMS IN DEVELOPING DIRECT PRODUCTION TIES IN CEMA

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[Article by O. D. Bakovetskiy and V. S. Grinev: "Problems of Developing Production Ties in the Socialist Community"]

[Text] The following article is devoted to one of the most important problems of socialist integration -- the development of direct ties among the production associations and associations of the countries in the socialist community. It contains an indication that the total set of planning, economic, and organizational-law factors that determine the development of interaction of the level of branches, associations, and enterprises largely influences the real depth of the reciprocal cooperation among the fraternal states and the consistent rate of integration.

Speaking at the 1st Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet K. U. Chernenko remarked, "We need today, as never before, major, carefully weighed decisions and a large amount of organizational work in order to increase considerably the effectiveness of the economy, and on that basis to achieve a steady improvement in the living conditions for all the Soviet citizens" [1, 12 April]. Subordinated to this task is a series of measures that are being carried out in our country at the present time. Those measures are directed at improving the economic mechanism, and increasing the self-interest of the production collective in the growth primarily of labor productivity and improving the quality of the output, and in introducing advanced technology and technological schemes.

A special role among these measures is assigned to the large-scale experiment involving the expansion of economic independence and the intensification of the responsibility borne by the associations and enterprises, which experiment has been carried out since the beginning of 1984. In the process of expanding this independence, and also when resolving the tasks of deepening the socialist economic integration, there has been a change, to a substantial degree, in the place and role of the associations and enterprises in the development of foreign-economic ties. The increase in their role is becoming a factor which largely determines how and in what volume one will actually

realize the advantages of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation among the states in the socialist community.

The deeper and deeper involvement of the production and scientific-technical collectives in the preparation and immediate implementation of the integrational decisions, the increasing of the initiative of all the economic links participating in the cooperation, and the development of direct ties among the production associations, enterprises, and economic organizations of the CEMA countries, especially among those participating in the international cooperative effort in production, promote the attainment of a qualitatively new level in socialist economic integration and the complete revealing of its capabilities and advantages.

At the present time direct ties are maintained by more than 4000 enterprises and associations in the countries of the socialist community. In particular, direct ties are developing intensively between Soviet associations and enterprises in Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia. A greater and greater number of enterprises and associations in the socialist countries have been entering into direct interaction in the creation of various kinds of output. For example, the collectives that have been drawn into production contacts for the creation of the latest articles of electrical engineering include such very large-scale enterprises in the CEMA countries as the Vasil Kolarov Plant (Bulgaria), the Hanc Association (Hungary), the Sachsenwerk Combine (East Germany), the Dolmel Plant (Poland), the Electroputere enterprise (Romania), the Elektrosila Association (USSR), and the Skoda Concern (Czechoslovakia) [1, 19 November]. The decisions of the Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Member-Countries stipulate the further cooperation in the establishment of direct ties among the associations, enterprises, and organizations of the fraternal countries. The necessary powers will be granted for this purpose [2].

A factor of very great importance for the formation in our countries of the organizational, planning, and cost-accounting prerequisites for the development of direct ties among the production associations, enterprises, and economic organizations of the countries in the socialist community is the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the measures for creating the necessary conditions for developing production and scientific-production intrabranh cooperative action and improving the direct ties among the ministries, departments, associations, enterprises, and organizations of the CEMA countries, which decree was adopted on 7 June 1984. The decree establishes that the basic links carrying out the direct production ties with the enterprises and organizations of the countries in the socialist community for the creation of stable, long-term, and mutually advantageous cooperative action in production are the all-union industrial association and the production and scientific-production associations, enterprises, and organizations. Provision is also made for specific measures to grant them a number of rights and powers in the area of international cooperative action. Simultaneously there has also been an expansion of their responsibility in the foreign-economic sphere, and a rise in the level of independence in the making of the appropriate decisions, naturally, with the cooperation of and under the supervision of the planning, branch, and foreign-trade agencies. What is especially important is that there are also being created the necessary

conditions that guarantee the self-interest and effective carrying out of the direct interaction of the Soviet enterprises and associations with their foreign partners.

The determining factor and basis of the further deepening of the socialist economic integration is the development of the national economic complexes. The cooperation in the area of planning activity, especially the coordination of the national-economic plans, has been and continues to be the chief method of deepening the international socialist division of labor. The Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Member-Countries collectively worked out ways to coordinate the economic policy of the states in the socialist community, including ways to achieve the reciprocal improvement of joint planning activity. Those ways have substantially enriched the theory and practice of the planned administration of international economic cooperation. They are of fundamental importance for the further deepening of the interaction among the fraternal states, and for concentrating their efforts in the chief, first-priority areas of economic cooperation.

As the cooperation among the fraternal countries at the national-economic level develops, factors that become necessary are their production and scientific-technical interaction at other levels of management also. The CEMA countries have approached the line when, practically speaking, it is impossible to resolve the problems of the further deepening of cooperation only with the aid of international agreements, without the efficient distribution of the tasks among the various levels of administration. The growing volume of projects in the area of joint planning activity requires the decision of many questions linked with the administration of the integration to be carried out at the level of the branches, associations, and enterprises by means of the development of direct ties among them. This pertains especially to the deepening of intrabranh cooperative action, primarily in such promising areas as the creation of energy-saving, material-saving, and labor-saving technology on the basis of the latest achievements of science.

The involvement in international cooperation of the lowest links of administration of the national economy, and the smooth coordination of the direct interaction among them, have currently become a persistent requirement.

The international socialist cooperative effort in production presupposes the participation of the producers in the various countries in the single production process for purposes of achieving a higher common final result. They are united by the fact that the production activity is technologically interrelated. The link among them is also influenced by the most stable nature of the division of labor, with which there is a precise establishment of the functions of each participant in the cooperative effort on the basis of the planned exchange of activity in each phase of the productive cycle. Each cooperative tie depends upon the peculiarities of the product being produced on its basis, and includes dozens and hundreds of technological operations which can change in the process of improving the product, exerting an influence upon the economic characteristics of the article and its parts. There is established a very close dependence of the technological schemes themselves in production for the cooperating partners along many channels, which dependence leads to the arising of their interdependence not only in the

process of production, but also in the economic sphere as a whole -- the entire activity of the producers in the various countries becomes "reciprocally penetrating."

Only the producers themselves can plan the cooperative effort in all its details, and can implement it in the process of production, adjusting the individual elements in the cooperative interrelationships. No one else is better able to know all the technical, technological, and other problems that arise in the preparation and carrying out of production. Therefore the key factor in improving the organization of production cooperatives is the development of direct contacts established among the immediate participants in the production of the output being cooperatively produced.

The planned regulation of integration at the level of individual self-interested economic links in the socialist countries provides the opportunity to guarantee the concretization of the tasks formulated at the international level, and their consistent and detailed implementation, and to activate the additional reserves. The direct tie between partners in the international cooperative effort makes it possible to realize completely the possible benefit from the cooperation, and to guarantee time-responsiveness in the administration of the production process at the enterprises.

Direct ties are of substantial importance for the most adequate transformation of international pledges into specific assignments for the production associations and enterprises. The involvement of the producers of exported output in the coordination of branch cooperation, the reinforcement of their participation in the development of plans and specific production measures by the establishment of direct ties with their foreign partners, promote the reinforcement of the interaction among the CEMA countries in the course of integrational cooperation.

The chief benefit from introducing direct production ties into the practice of reciprocal cooperation, as was justifiably noted by A. O. Chukanov, lies in the fact that they "will make it possible more fully to use the economic potential of the CEMA member-countries, to expand the worldwide socialist market, to use more actively the achievements of scientific-technical progress, to carry out the structural improvement of production, to exert an effect upon the level of intrabranh specialization in our countries, and to increase the economic self-interestedness of the associations and enterprises of the various countries in the cooperation. The direct inclusion in the cooperation sphere of a broad circle of our economic managers and specialists in the production associations and enterprises that are related from the point of view of specialization will enable them to resolve more actively and more effectively the questions of the development of cooperation. It is only in this manner that it is possible in complete measure to resolve the very important work that has been coordinated by our parties -- not only the economic work, but also the political work of converting the 1980's into a period of intensive production and scientific-technical cooperation" [3].

Direct ties, under the conditions of the planned socialist economy, cannot develop effectively without proper state planning, administration, promotion, or supervision, and the joint planning activity of the socialist countries

cannot be replaced by the uncontrollable market interrelationships among independent economic organizations. Direct ties must be carried out within the framework of the joint planning activity, under the supervision of the central planning agencies and ministries of foreign trade.

In the opinion of Hungarian economist K. Pecsí, it is necessary to differentiate between two concepts -- direct and immediate ties. Thus, the economic-production ties between among enterprises which are mediated by superior ministries and departments should be called direct ones, and must be considered to be a lower form of the relations between enterprises in different countries. What he considers to be a higher form of relations is the immediate ties, when the enterprises themselves establish economic contacts with enterprises in other countries under the effect of the internal economic regulators being employed by the state [11].

However, one cannot fail to note the definite amount of arbitrariness in such a division of this category. Direct ties are the sole form of cooperation that is carried out simultaneously by three categories of subjects: at the macroeconomic, mesoeconomic, and microeconomic levels. In conformity with this, it is necessary to achieve the optimal, or at least efficient, combination of the macroapproach and the microapproach to the establishment of direct ties between enterprises, inasmuch as, in addition to questions pertaining to the competency of enterprises, there inevitably arise a number of problems in the light of guaranteeing the balanced state of the entire national economy, which problems can be resolved only when there is the direct participation of the socialist state.

In this regard one can agree completely with East German economists W. Kunz, H. Andermann, E. Becker, and T. Freulich, who justifiably note that in foreign-economic activity it is a general practice to have both direct ties proper, and forms with which superior agencies of administration or specific economic units (for example, a foreign-trade enterprise) enter into direct relations with partners in the CEMA countries. These two forms do not contradict one another, but, rather, are indivisible, mandatory, and complementary components of the foreign-trade relations of the CEMA countries [10]¹.

In our opinion the series of relations with regard to direct ties stipulates a rather broad spectrum of the most diverse forms and methods of direct interaction, which encompass both the production, scientific-technical, and economic contacts and the noneconomic contacts, particularly the social and cultural ones².

But if one speaks about direct ties in their particularly production and scientific-technical aspects, the entire multiplicity of their varieties can be reduced, obviously, to different (in width and depth) forms of contacts between the producers of commodities and services in the various socialist countries³. The direct cooperative ties between the production associations and enterprises in the CEMA countries, which ties arise in connection with cooperative efforts in production, are the very core of the entire system of relations of direct cooperation in the socialist system, the pivot that

determines the integrational processes at the branch level within the confines of enterprises and associations.

Cooperative production ties can be established in the sphere of scientific-research and construction-planning and designing projects, when preparing production, directly in the sphere of production and scientific-technical cooperative efforts, including the transportation and sale of the produced output, the providing of spare parts, and technical maintenance. In essence, direct ties can include a broad circle of problems that encompass the entire process of social reproduction as a set, that is, research, construction designing, production, and sales. They can be carried out in developing the relations that formed at the central planning level, but can also develop as a result of the planned interaction of the branch agencies of administration and the production organizations.

Practical life shows us that, in the basic process of international specialization and cooperative action in production, there has been encompassed a products list for output for which the central planning agencies draw up material balance sheets. Cooperation on a considerably broader products list of articles that are planned by the branch ministries, associations, and enterprises, factually speaking, does not exist. The use in joint planning activity of forms of cooperation that are linked with the development of direct ties has been called upon to serve the overcoming of this gap. This will also contribute to eliminating the definite break in the joint planning activity that exists between the branch of science and technology and the production sphere, will promote the combining of scientific-technical and production cooperation, and will facilitate the joint planning of individual types of production [4].

In the light of what has been stated, it would, obviously, be correct to isolate two levels of direct ties, the content of which differs substantially from the functional point of view.

First of all they are direct ties between branch agencies of administration, which are directed toward improving the production and scientific-technical cooperation within the confines of the branch. They include the coordination of the scientific-technical policy in definite fields of production, the planned resolution of the balance-sheet problems of cooperative action, and supervision over the rate of cooperative production. This activity, in essence, is a superstructure in organizing the direct cooperation between producers.

And, secondly, this is direct production and scientific-technical cooperation on the level of producers and developers. Its result is the joint production of output on the basis of the division of labor in the technological-production process. This variety of direct ties can be viewed as the direct interaction of the scientific-production, scientific-design, and production links for purposes of the joint development and production, on the basis of

cooperative efforts, of definite output, its sale, and the organizing of subsequent technical maintenance⁴.

Cooperative action among the production units of the countries in the socialist community occurs on the basis of commodity-monetary forms. The direct ties of associations and enterprises in various countries cannot be carried out in any way other than in the commodity form. At the same time it should be noted that the functions of the commodity-monetary instruments at such time change to a definite degree.

This is linked with the fact that the direct ties are that form of cooperative efforts in production to which those cooperative efforts strive in their development. But with the deepening of the cooperative ties, the commodity-monetary relations, as it were are crowded out of the cooperative turnover, and their functional role changes. Money fulfills basically the function of the measure of value when comparing contingents of heterogeneous articles that are to be exchanged. Reciprocally exchangeable products themselves become a purchasing and payment means⁵.

At the present stage, direct ties are a form which, to the greatest degree, corresponds to the goals of carrying out production and scientific-technical cooperative efforts in the community of CEMA countries. Their task lies in the direct guaranteeing of the cooperation among the partners from different countries with regard to the entire reproduction cycle, on the basis of a single economic document and the complete responsibility of the partners for all the links in that chain.

Without a doubt, the establishment of direct ties is determined first of all by the needs for the development of socialist economic integration. At the same time, direct ties also develop under the effect of common tendencies of the worldwide production and scientific-technical progress. The capitalist economy, and especially at the intercompany level, has a well-developed system of international ties. Those ties, by virtue of the private-ownership nature of capitalist production relations, differ fundamentally in their essence from the direct ties in the socialist community. However, despite the fundamental differences in the production relations of capitalism and socialism, the development of international ties between the primary production links, obviously, is also a manifestation of the worldwide tendency toward the internationalization of production, the deepening of the individual division of labor, and the quickening of scientific-technical exchanges on a global scale under the effect of the scientific-technical revolution.

In the community of the CEMA countries, unlike the capitalist practice, the chief requirements made on the development of international links are: the planned nature, the complete equality of the cooperating sides, the mutually advantageous nature, mutual assistance, and the maximum orientation on the goals of national scientific-technical and socioeconomic progress, with a consideration of the interests of the socialist community as a whole.

Therefore it is natural that the sphere of international socialist ties must have a precise and effective organizational and administrative structure.

In our opinion, these problems, on the whole, can be resolved if greater rights and powers are granted to the branch ministries in developing their export policy and in evaluating the effectiveness of the foreign-economic ties to be carried out by them; if the production associations participate actively in developing the production and scientific-technical cooperation with the partners in the CEMA countries. The ways to resolve these problems, obviously, can be summarized as follows.

First of all, for the realistic involvement of enterprises and associations in direct ties with partners in the CEMA countries, it is necessary to improve the relations between the subjects of the production sphere and foreign trade, to direct them toward the formation of a joint cost-accountability self-interest in increasing the effectiveness of the foreign-economic activity. The nuclear of the administration of direct ties in the field of cooperative actions can be consistent cost accountability. It would be desirable to extend the principles of cost accountability both to the relations that the enterprises have with foreign partners, and to the relations that they have within the country with superior levels of administration and with subcontractors for producing the output involved in international cooperative efforts. Cost accountability has been called upon to consolidate economically the domestic and foreign economy into a single whole.

The guaranteeing of cost-accountability relations between industry and foreign trade is desirable only at the level of the links which, themselves, functions under conditions of cost accountability. The overall material self-interestedness in increasing the effectiveness of the international cooperative efforts can exist only where its results influence the indicators of economic incentive. In this regard, a factor that takes on substantial importance is the elaboration of quotas for evaluating the cost-accountability activity of the associations and enterprises that are the producers of the output involved in cooperative efforts and of the foreign-trade associations on the basis of the final results, that is, depending upon the currency proceeds on the foreign market. They will create the conditions for bringing together the systems of cost accountability in industry and foreign trade, for applying all the cost-accountability quotas and criteria according to which one evaluates the work of the associations and enterprises within the country, and for evaluating their activity in the area of international cooperative efforts. This will lead to the intensification of the economic self-interestedness of the production enterprises in reducing the production costs and in improving the quality of the output involved in cooperative efforts, and that of the foreign-trade associations in selling it at the highest foreign-trade prices.

Obviously, a system of cost-accountability levers and incentives that is aimed at increasing the effectiveness of international cooperative efforts in production must meet definite demands: it must assure the comparison of the effectiveness of economic activity both in production and in foreign trade, and it must create the joint self-interestedness of all the economic links participating in the international cooperative efforts.

Finally, the cost-accountability system should be constructed with a consideration of the needs for the broad development of contractual relations among the individual economic links both within the country and in the relations with the foreign partners, providing for the preferential encouragement of the most effective directions and forms of foreign-economic activity.

It would be desirable to carry out the direct ties on the basis of economic contracts that would provide for the following: guaranteeing of fulfillment of the pledges taken and the technical parameters of the reciprocally delivered output on the basis of CEMA standards or advanced national standards; the time limits for shipments and outfitting, the state of provision with spare parts; the basic directions and time limits for modernization of the output, the economic terms for shipments, the responsibility of the contracting sides for any deviation from the pledges taken, etc. These contracts, which in essence predetermine the terms of the foreign-trade contracts, would be concluded by production associations and enterprises jointly with foreign-trade associations that have been specially set aside for servicing the intrabranh cooperative efforts of the particular ministry.

A factor of very great importance is the introduction into the interrelations among the enterprises that are manufacturers of export output and the foreign-trade associations that sell that output on the foreign market, of economic contracts in which both sides could precisely define their rights and duties and responsibility for all actions linked with the fulfillment of the planned pledges for manufacture and shipment of that output to the foreign customer. The reciprocal settlements among the industrial enterprises and the foreign-trade associations probably should be carried out by proceeding from the currency proceeds from the sale of the exported output. The same criterion can be used to provide economic incentive both for the production enterprises and the foreign-trade associations. It is possible to use as settlement instruments special settlement coefficients that would make it possible to establish flexible release prices for the enterprises manufacturing the output for export and when importing articles produced on a cooperative basis.

For purposes of encouraging direct ties, obviously, it would be desirable for the branch ministries to have the right to make the final decisions concerning the development with the CEMA countries of intrabranh specialization and cooperative actions in production, and particularly to redistribute the allocated capital investments, and, on the basis of an understanding with the appropriate foreign-trade associations, to channel them into the development of more promising export production entities by reducing export items that are of little effectiveness or are loss items. At such time the gradual elimination of the economically undesirable import items would be promoted by the granting to the ministries of the right to establish the internal wholesale prices of imported components being delivered on the basis of agreements governing intrabranh specialization and cooperative efforts in production.

In order to increase the effectiveness of the direct ties between the production associations and enterprises with their partners in the CEMA

countries, obviously, it would be desirable to stipulate the planning for the ministries of centrally funded reserves, within the limits of which those associations and enterprises would be granted the opportunity independently to resolve the questions linked with the implementation of the contracts governing international production cooperation without any additional coordination with the planning-regulation agencies. At the same time the development of direct production ties, obviously, would also be promoted by the granting to the economic organizations, on an approximately equal basis with their partners in the other CEMA countries, of a group of rights in establishing direct production contacts. Also, taking into consideration the scale of our industry, the problem of developing direct ties, of course, should be resolved gradually, by accumulating the production, planning, cost-accountability, organizational, and psychological prerequisites.

Something that is taking on great importance is the elaboration, by the production and foreign-trade associations that are developing the direct ties with foreign partners, of a plan for the intrabranh cooperative efforts in production, which plan has been stipulated by the previously mentioned 7 June 1984 decree of the USSR Council of Ministers. That will provide the uniform resolution of the questions of variety, volume, and the value both of the output that is intended for export and the output that is to be imported. The branch ministry has received the opportunity, when preparing, implementing, and providing the material-technical support for the cooperative-efforts plan, independently to make the appropriate decisions and to react promptly to any change in the domestic or foreign factors.

The prices of units, assemblies, semifinished articles, and other components must be established by proceeding from the coordinate price of the finished article, with a consideration of the percentage of the various components in the value of that article. At such time their percentage can be determine on the basis of the correlation of the prices for the major specialized companies in the capitalist countries that deliver similar output for export, or on the basis of data from CEMA countries that supply similar output. It is desirable for the adjustment of the foreign-trade prices of components to be made only with the simultaneous and intercorrelated change of the prices of the corresponding finished output.

For purposes of encouraging the rise in the technical level and the quality of the output being cooperatively produced, it would be desirable for the agreements governing specialization and cooperative efforts to define, on the basis of an understanding between the supplier and the importer, the appropriate markups in the event of attaining a previously stipulated improvement of its technical-economic indicators and the rebates in the event of failing to fulfill the coordinated terms within the established time limits (up to and including the granting to the purchaser of the right to refuse to buy such output). In our opinion, it would be desirable to develop, as an inseparable part of the agreements governing international specialization and cooperative efforts, coordinated price lists that would stipulate the coordinating of the prices of the component articles and the finished articles, the period of their action, and the questions of encouraging the raising of the technical level and the improvement of the quality of the output that is to be delivered on a reciprocal basis.

The successful development of direct ties dealing with cooperative efforts among the associations and enterprises of the CEMA countries presupposes the impeccable fulfillment of the delivery pledges dealing both with the export and with the import. In this connection, it would be desirable in the contracts governing international cooperative efforts in production to stipulate the principles that impose upon the guilty party the complete brunt of the material penalties for nonfulfillment of them. It would also be desirable to make special stipulations concerning the responsibility for the quality, complete outfitting, and especially the rhythm of deliveries of the components, reinforcing that responsibility by the possibility of employing sanctions in increased amounts.

The self-interestedness of the associations and enterprises in the development of international specialization and cooperative efforts in production largely depends upon the possibility of their receiving a definite economic benefit. It would seem that the evaluation of the economic effectiveness of the measures dealing with international cooperative efforts with the CEMA countries could be carried out in two stages. In the first stage one would consider the possible alternatives for the organization of the cooperation from the point of view of the national economy of the USSR as a whole (at such time it is necessary, to the extent possible, to take into consideration quantitatively all the additional and indirect expenditures and the benefits arising in the national economy). In the second stage, which pertains to the implementation of the developed alternative of the foreign-economic cooperation, the benefits should be defined at the specific associations and enterprises that produce the output for export and that are operating on principles of cost accountability. Also, for purposes of coordinating all the results with the norms and quotas, and with the planning and reporting indicators of the associations and enterprises, the settlements must be carried out in the prices that are actually in effect or that are being planned.

The development of direct ties, to a considerable degree, can be promoted by the improvement of the rates of currency exchange. The first-priority task in this area, obviously, is the creation of a precise system of economically substantiated and intercoordinated correlations between the convertible ruble and the currencies of the CEMA countries. The application of these correlations is an important condition for improving the prices of output being produced on a cooperative basis. It is well known that the currently employed rates of currency exchange do not completely correspond to that purpose. This hampers for the partners in the cooperative efforts the determination of the economic effectiveness of the cooperation, especially at the level of the lowest link -- the enterprises. For purposes of overcoming the difficulties linked with this fact, a number of foreign CEMA countries employ currency coefficients with the aid of which one computes the integrated result of the activity of the enterprises both within the country and in their relations with foreign partners.

The task for forming and developing the mechanism for direct ties should, apparently, be resolved in stages, as one accumulates experience and the appropriate prerequisites, including organizational ones, are created [4, 5].

Otherwise, additional difficulties could arise in the implementation of this important type of cooperation. In this regard, obviously, an item of interest is the carrying out of a large-scale economic experiment that takes into consideration the specifics of the branches and the types of production entities, and the specific alternatives of cooperation (including the taking into consideration of the problems of guaranteeing the balanced state of deliveries and settlements). That experiment will make it possible to ascertain many problems, to set down the ways to resolve them, and to work out specific recommendations for the effective development of direct ties.

FOOTNOTES

1. A similar point of view is expressed by Bulgarian economists G. Mirov and K. Krisev. They note that the right of the initiative in the establishment of direct ties should be granted to economic organizations and branch ministries depending upon the type of cooperative effort: in the event of intrabranch cooperative effort, to the economic organizations, and in the event of interbranch, to the branch ministries. In their opinion, the development of direct ties depends to a large degree both upon the effectiveness of the state assistance, and upon the special measures that are undertaken at the intergovernmental (interdepartmental) level [9].
2. "In the process of implementation of foreign-trade agreements, new forms of contacts and reciprocal aid are created," East German economists D. Greichen, P. Kolert, K. Morgenstern, and D. Schoenknecht write. "These include direct contacts and the exchange of work experience between the party and trade-union committees of the enterprise partners, the exchange of work experience in the resolution of scientific-technical tasks and the guidance of socialist competition, the reciprocal sending of personnel on detached-duty assignments for the purpose of professional instruction and familiarization with advanced experience, the exchange of groups of vacationers on a noncurrency basis at [the enterprises'] own rest homes, etc." [7].
3. W. Kunz understands by direct ties, first of all, the "forms and methods of international socialist cooperation with which: 1) there is direct cooperation by the partners at an analogous level of responsibility and area of specialization in certain or all phases of the reproduction process or 2) there exists a direct tie with the cooperative partners who are acting as the supplier and the recipient or consumer" [12].
4. This understanding of direct production ties fundamentally coincides with their definition by V. M. Shastitko: "By direct production ties," he writes, "one should understand the technological and economic ties among the cooperating parties in various countries for the joint elaborations and the production, on the basis of a cooperative effort, of definite output, its subsequent sale, and the organization of postproduction service" [6, No 1, p 139].

5. In this regard an idea that is of interest is the one expressed by E. Pletnev, who asserts that "by direct ties one understands not the market ties in the circulation sphere, but, rather, the direct contacts in the production process itself, which is to be carried out jointly, that is, internationally. The specialization of commodity shipments is subject to replacement by its specialization within production itself, and trade must fulfill the functions of the direct supply and direct distribution of the final production among the enterprises of the various countries... The changeover from commodity exchange to product exchange at the level of the direct producers is already noticeable, and the consideration of the equivalency of expenditures and the reciprocal settlements are being raised to an international level" [7]. But, at the same time, one must not conclude from this that direct ties mean 'noncommodity ties'" [6, No 2, p 12]. The commodity nature of direct ties at the present-day stage of development should not be underestimated, much less ignored.

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

IBEC/IIB: IMPROVING CEMA FINANCIAL RELATIONS

Moscow EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV in Russian (signed to press 29 Mar 85) No 4, 1985

[Article by Vasiliy Garbuzov, USSR minister of finance, chairman, CEMA Standing Commission on Currency and Finance: "Currency and Financial Relations -- At the Level of New Tasks"]

[Excerpts] Today the activities of CEMA organs include no task which is more important than active assistance in implementing the decisions of the Economic Summit Conference of CEMA countries, which are of principal importance in the further strengthening of interaction among the fraternal states. This is an urgent requirement of the Central Committees of the communist and workers parties and governments of the socialist commonwealth. They are based on the necessity of expanding mutual collaboration in the interests of further developing the economies of the CEMA countries and in strengthening their unity and solidarity.

The 1985 State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the 1985 State Budget for the USSR make provisions for the development of the USSR's foreign economic ties in all directions, and, naturally, especially intensive development with CEMA countries. These give complete consideration to all the points ensuing from the decisions and matters agreed upon by the Summit Conference, which essentially open up a new stage in the interaction of economies of the fraternal countries and the long term development of socialist economic integration based upon more thorough agreement in the economic policies of CEMA countries. This makes increased requirements upon collaboration between our countries in the area of currency-financial and credit relations.

A high measure of responsibility is now needed in approaching work organization in each CEMA organ, including the CEMA Standing Commission on Currency and Finance. Using the results of the Economic Summit Conference, the Commission worked out measures directed towards realizing these decisions. It also established control over the implementation of these decisions. The goal is to raise foreign exchange financial and credit relations between our countries to the level of the new tasks and to concentrate efforts on the

main, priority directions in economic collaboration. Foreign exchange and credit mechanisms should be better adapted to the solution of key problems in the economic integration of CEMA countries at the contemporary stage of its step by step development.

It was from this perspective that, at its 43rd meeting, held at the end of 1984 the Commission drew inferences from experiencing in the functioning of its account-credit mechanism based on the use of the transferable ruble, the collective currency of the states in the socialist commonwealth. Using results from an analysis of this method's effectiveness, the Commission affirmed that in general it is capable of assisting in the main measures foreseen by the Summit Conference. In reporting results of the analysis to the CEMA Executive Committee, the Commission unanimously noted that this mechanism:

- assures continuity of mutual accounts between CEMA countries for all types of economic ties;

- creates the possibility for implementing the fundamental principles of economic collaboration between CEMA countries including equivalence and mutual advantage;

- promotes the expansion of mutual foreign trade turnover and a relative reduction in credit requirements;

- assists, through the use of credit subsidies, in raising the economic development levels of non-European CEMA countries to those of the European countries;

- protects, to a considerable degree, the economies of CEMA countries from the negative influences of the capitalist economy, permitting the use of mutual accounts without using dollars or other convertible currency;

- creates the possibility for actually conducting, within the framework of the socialist commonwealth and independently of the capitalist states, a foreign exchange and credit policy assisting the planned and proportional development of CEMA countries national economies, the assurance of their economic security, their techno-economic invulnerability in face of imperialist discriminatory policies. This is in accordance to the points in the declaration of CEMA countries "The Preservation of Peace and International Economic Collaboration."

After examining the Commission's report, the CEMA Executive Committee, in essence stressed not only the economic, but also the great political significance of the account-credit mechanism of CEMA countries.

Playing a service role, the account-credit mechanism is entrusted with assisting the economic collaboration of CEMA countries in the development of their national economies, in mutual trade turnover and, above all through continuous accounts and support for credit needs. The dynamics of the steadily growing volumes of mutual payments among CEMA countries show that the account-credit mechanism using transferable rubles is doing this (Table 1).

During 1970-1984 the mutual accounts among CEMA countries conducted through the MBES [International Bank for Economic Cooperation] exceeded 1,484 billion transferable rubles, increasing from 35.4 billion in 1970 to 195.7 billion transferable rubles in 1984, or by 5.5 fold.

Table 1.

| Country | Total for 1970-1984 | 1970 | 1980 | 1983 | 1984 | 1970=1 |
|----------------------|------------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| Bulgaria | 125.1 | 2.7 | 10.5 | 15.4 | 17.4 | 6.4 |
| Hungary | 117.7 | 2.8 | 9.9 | 13.8 | 14.9 | 5.3 |
| Vietnam ² | 6.0 | --- | --- | 1.7 | 1.8 | --- |
| GDR | 213.6 | 6.2 | 17.4 | 23.3 | 25.0 | 4.0 |
| Cuba ² | 55.6 | --- | 5.1 | 9.0 | 10.4 | --- |
| Mongolia | 10.1 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 7.0 |
| Poland | 166.1 | 4.3 | 14.1 | 17.6 | 19.8 | 4.6 |
| Romania | 59.2 | 1.7 | 5.0 | 6.1 | 6.3 | 3.7 |
| USSR | 562.7 | 13.0 | 46.5 | 69.2 | 77.3 | 5.9 |
| Czechoslovakia | 168.2 | 4.5 | 13.6 | 19.3 | 21.6 | 4.8 |
| Total | 1,484.3 | 35.4 | 122.9 | 176.8 | 195.7 | 5.5 |

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1. Vietnam began transferable ruble accounts in 1981.
 2. Cuba started accounts in transferable rubles in 1976.
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MBES credits help CEMA countries cover short term excesses of payments over receipts and to meet their more long term requirements for money. Analysis shows that in the MBES credit system the flexibility of account settlement credit, for which no specific payoff periods are set, can be combined within the strict framework of term credit granted for a maximum three year period. Because of the need to pay off term credit within three years or sooner, the borrower country tries to obtain a positive balance of payments, including through export expansion. Thus, the credit system helps the countries meet their obligations for trade turnover and its dynamic growth.

The mutual trade turnover between CEMA countries increased from 33.5 transferable rubles in 1970 to 166.1 in 1983, a 4.5 fold increase. Undoubtedly this was helped by the use of the account-credit system to assure the prompt payment of the value of these goods to exporters.

Studies show that during the years of MBES activities, all authorized banks of CEMA countries have used its credits, although in varying amounts. The percentage of Bank credits for mutual payments of authorized banks using them

averages from 25 to 30 percent. In some banks this indicator is even higher (40 percent). The MBES is completely satisfying the requirements of all CEMA countries for credits in transferable rubles. During 1970-1984 it granted them more than 100 billion transferable rubles.

MBES credits are especially important to the national economies of Vietnam, Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic. Being subsidized (0.5 to 2 percent, while for the other countries they are 2-5 percent), such credits definitely assist in raising these countries' economic development levels up to the levels of the European states in the socialist commonwealth. During 1980-1984 alone, the authorized banks of Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia saved more than 75 million transferable rubles through lower interest rates on subsidized credits from the MBES. Thus, it was possible for these nations to direct the saved resources towards their social and economic development and to implement measures called for by their national economic plans and budgets.

In 1969 the 23rd (special) CEMA Session of the highest party-state leadership was held. It defined the course for the further improvement of collaboration among CEMA countries and the development of economic integration. This program was embodied in the Comprehensive Program, which marked a qualitatively new stage in the interaction of the fraternal countries. It had a more precise orientation towards technical progress, production specialization and cooperation, i.e. towards strengthening collaboration in the material sphere based upon the coordination of national economic plans. Starting from this, the International Investment Bank (MIB) was created in order to have greater concentration and more effective use of financial resources. Its work experience shows that it plays a major role in the development of the economic integration of CEMA countries.

During the years of this bank's activities it has financed 85 integration projects, including credits for the construction of the "Soyuz" main pipeline. Their total value exceeds 3.6 billion transferable rubles and the estimated value of the projects approved for credits exceeds 10 billion transferable rubles.

Both the MBES and the International Investment Bank are called upon to assist Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia in raising their economic development levels to those of the European CEMA countries. The non-European members have subsidized interest rates in the 1.5 - 2.0 percent range, while for the European countries the rates are 3-5 percent.

Guided by the decisions of the Economic Summit Conference of CEMA countries, the collective banks of these countries will continue to assist in the accelerated development of the national economies of these states and in their broader participation in the international socialist division of labor.

The Official Statement on the main directions in the further development and deepening of economic and scientific-technical collaboration among CEMA countries approved at the Economic Conference states: "There will be further improvements in the existing system of price formation for mutual trade and in currency and credit instruments for collaboration. The transferable ruble, the collective currency, will be strengthened."

In realizing the Summit Conference's decisions, the CEMA Standing Commission for Currency and Finance made provisions for a special implementation measures section in its 1985-1986 work plan.

Measures are also being taken to improve the planning of MBES credits. The bank has worked out and coordinated with authorized banks a unified methodology for the credit applications they present. It is essential that authorized banks base their credit applications upon national economic and foreign trade plans, annual protocols on trade turnover and, above all, on trade turnover accounts and other forms of collaboration agreed upon with other countries. The MBES is to improve the economic analysis of credit applications in determining countries' needs for its credits.

The planning and use of MIB transferable ruble credits also require further improvements. For this purpose, meetings of the CEMA Session, Executive Committee and other organs have approved decrees creating organizational prerequisites for improving the coordination of deliveries of goods for projects using the bank's credits. In its turn, this would help improve the efficiency of the system of long and medium term credits and help obtain greater returns from the use of this important tool for collaboration between the fraternal countries. There should be closer linkage of MIB credits with the general system for planning the national economies of CEMA countries. This is not just a task for this bank. Ministries and departments entrusted with the construction of projects using MIB credits should be on time in including the targets in national economic plans. Then the MIB could increase its contribution to the development of collaboration between CEMA countries and more actively participate in the implementation of investment programs which will carry out decisions of the Economic Conference. The MIB should more actively participate in granting credits to measures assisting in the development of fuel and raw material resources, the construction of agro-industrial complexes and in accelerating production intensification and improving its efficiency. This is one of the major reserves which should be more rapidly put to use to raise the foreign exchange and financial mechanism's efficiency and to use its credit instruments.

Participants at the Economic Summit Conference stressed the need to further strengthen contract discipline, including through the use of economically based interest rates on MBES and MIB credits. These interest rates are an integral instrument of account-credit relations of CEMA countries. As experience shows, they are improved in accordance with specific stages in the development of economic collaboration, assisting in its expansion and deepening. At the new stage, the MIB, for example, to assure the more efficient use of its transferable ruble credits, decided to study the advisability of establishing a more improved differentiated scale for interest rates for these credits, within the limits of the rates set by the MIB Council. Obviously, this would give borrowers greater incentive in presenting loan applications for projects meeting the growing requirements for production intensification, including those with shorter term construction time and credit.

Apparently, the time has come to more extensively examine interest rates for credits from the collective banks with regard to determining criteria for their economic justification. As concerns MBES activities, for example, this would reveal to what extent the credits used help in the successful functioning of a multilateral system of accounts and credits in transferable rubles, assist in the development of trade turnover, in countries' meeting their obligations for the delivery of goods and assure the profitability of Bank operations using collective foreign exchange.

The implementation of these and other measures would create the economic conditions for more completely discovering the functions of the transferable ruble. This is indicated in the decisions of the Economic Conference. This would help solve another task -- expanding the transferable ruble's sphere of use. As the necessary prerequisites are created, this sphere of use is systematically expanded. At present it is used for the following:

Mutual accounts for operations in the service sphere, including transportation, insurance, tourism;

In granting and paying off short, medium and long term credits granted by the MBES and MIB and directly between countries;

In mutual accounts involving joint construction and operations among international production, scientific and other enterprises in CEMA countries.

However, this does not exhaust the possibilities for further expanding the use of collective foreign exchange. Some CEMA countries collaboration operations are still conducted in freely convertible currency. Although their volumes are not great, nevertheless, the need for them should be more carefully studied to discover ways of replacing them with operations using transferable rubles.

Raising CEMA countries currency relations to the level of new tasks also means intensifying the effects of their development on those forms of mutual collaboration which are considered especially promising at the present stage. As was noted at the Economic Conference, these include the extensive development of production cooperation and the establishment of direct ties between associations, enterprises and organizations, as well as the creation of conditions stimulating the development of such processes.

The Commission analyzed its previously approved normative-methodological documents on this question. It concluded that they are mainly used to work out and realize the appropriate agreements and contracts for cooperation and direct ties on a bilateral and multilateral basis. Together with this, the Commission is continuing to work on creating foreign exchange and financial conditions which would stimulate the more intensive development of production and scientific-technical cooperation and direct ties within the framework of CEMA. It is also faced with studying the need to refine its previous documents on the establishment and functioning of joint enterprises, firms and other international economic organizations, taking into consideration collaboration practices and changes in the economic planning and management systems of CEMA countries.

The Economic Summit Conference of CEMA countries gave considerable attention to the even greater intensification of the social direction in socialist integration, and especially to creating the prerequisites for more effective collaboration in foodstuffs production. Obviously, an important role here can be played by foreign exchange and credit instruments, above all those which assist in investments in measures in the agro-industrial complex. Experience shows that the participation of interested CEMA countries in capital investments of foodstuffs exporters is one of the major forms of economic stimulation for developing their production and exports. In view of this, the Commission discovered possible methods for such participation and the use of various types of credit, including subsidized credit. It also defined the conditions for establishing and using special funds as additional instruments providing economic stimulation to developing the production and export of foodstuffs and other goods in short supply.

In outlining prospects for implementing the decisions of the Economic Summit Conference, one should not restrict oneself to just the use of those instruments which apply to the international foreign exchange and credit mechanism's sphere. It is just as important to intensify the effect of socialist finance, a powerful tool, upon the socioeconomic development of the fraternal countries. In the final account, the decisions of the Economic Summit Conference are directed towards the accelerated conversion of each CEMA Country's economy to the intensive path, increasing its efficiency through improvements in production structure, the rational use of all resources, fixed capital and scientific-technical potentials.

This is also indicated in the decisions of the higher party and state organs of countries in the socialist commonwealth. This question was subjected to a fundamental and thorough discussion at the USSR Supreme Soviet Session in November 1984 during the examination of the 1985 budget. The session was preceded by a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which thoroughly analyzed the condition of the Soviet economy. The Politburo formulated urgent tasks for economic policy, including finance, especially in accelerating scientific-technical progress, intensifying production and improving its efficiency, generally improving savings of labor, material and financial resources, as well as increasing the levels of production, plan and contract discipline. Finances and improvements in the entire financial-credit mechanism can and should play an important role in this.

Other countries are facing similar tasks. In order to successfully solve them it is important to more thoroughly study the experiences acquired by the fraternal countries in the effective use of finance. Such work is being conducted within the framework of the commission and it is giving definite results. Since the beginning of the current five-year plan there have been consultations of CEMA country ministers of finance involving improvements in financial-credit and foreign exchange mechanisms for managing their national economies. The collaboration of scientific research institutes for finance has been organized.

This year there will be an international scientific conference on the theme "The Role and Growing Significance of Finance in Improving the Efficiency of Social Production in the CEMA Countries." However, it is not the quantity of measures to exchange experience, but the assurance of their more complete practical use. The discussion should be about the greater internationalization of experience acquired by each country and the creation of conditions for its effective introduction in the financial systems of other fraternal countries. The Economic Summit Conference pointed out the great, one could say, creative role of the exchange of experience.

It was also stressed at the conference that improvements in organization, within the CEMA framework are also an effective means for increasing the efficiency of all forms of collaboration. Guided by the decisions of the Conference, the CEMA Session (39th Meeting) approved measures for further improvements in multilateral collaboration. Specific recommendations for their implementation were worked out by the Executive Committee at the 111th and 113th Meetings. The CEMA Standing Commission for Currency and Finance is taking practical steps in this direction. They provide for further improvements in the style, forms and methods of its work, the strengthening of interaction with CEMA countries collective banks -- the MBES and MIB. This will help enhance the Commission's role in organizing multilateral currency-financial and credit collaboration among the fraternal countries and in concentrating its attention upon solutions to the most important, high priority problems.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

TABLE OF CONTENTS: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA NO 3, 1985

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 p 1

[Text] TOWARD THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS

| | |
|--|---|
| Kiva, A. The National Liberation Movement: The Present Stage of Development | 2 |
|--|---|

| | |
|---|----|
| Belenchuk, S. Africa. The Problem of Food Supply | 6 |
| Barkovskiy, L. Israel. Under the Suppression of Zionism | 9 |
| On Land and in Space | 12 |

ON THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTORY

| | |
|---|----|
| Mitrokhin, L. Friendship Forged in Combat | 14 |
| It Will Not Dim Over the Centuries.... | 18 |

8 MARCH--INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

| | |
|--|----|
| Ivanova, A. Women of the World: "Equality, Development, Peace" | 19 |
|--|----|

A CURRENT REPORT

| | |
|---|----|
| Turadzhev, V. Cambodia. A Blood Wedding | 22 |
|---|----|

COMMENTS OF A SOCIOLOGIST

| | |
|--|----|
| Demin, L. The Lumpen Proletariat in the Developing Nations | 26 |
| The Peace Forum in Manila | 30 |

COUNTRIES, PEOPLES, TIME

| | |
|--|----|
| Mikhaylov, A. Sri Lanka. Difficult Times | 32 |
|--|----|

AGAINST APARTHEID AND RACISM

| | |
|---|----|
| Shubin, V. South Africa. Between the Anvil and the Hammer | 36 |
|---|----|

TRAVELS, MEETINGS, IMPRESSIONS

| | |
|---|----|
| Kokorev, V. Mozambique. Life Is More Than Plans | 41 |
| Maksimov, S. Lebanon. A Tree in the Cell | 45 |

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| EVENTS...FIGURES...FACTS | 48 |
|------------------------------------|----|

CULTURE, LITERATURE, ART

| | |
|--|----|
| Abd as-Sattar Said Ahmed. Wine, Islam and Poetry | 52 |
| Tsutomu Minakami. Snowy Road. A Story | 53 |

REVIEWS, INFORMATION

| | |
|---|----|
| Novikova, Z. The Aluminum of Africa in the World Capitalist Economy . | 56 |
|---|----|

BRIEFLY ABOUT COUNTRIES

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| Rubtsov, B. New Caledonia | 59 |
|-------------------------------------|----|

IN THE WORLD OF BOOKS

| | |
|--|----|
| Chirkin, V. Political Parties of Africa | 62 |
| Karymov, V. Neocolonialism Under Modern Conditions | 62 |
| Nikishova, I. The Evolution of Nationalistic Ideology | 63 |
| Obukhov, L. Palestine: The Core of the Near East Problem | 64 |

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10272

CSO: 1807/306

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT: THE PRESENT STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 pp 2-5

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Kiva]

[Text] Four years have passed since the 26th CPSU Congress. This period has been full of important and diverse events both on the international scene as a whole as well as in the life of the liberated nations. The conclusions drawn by the congress on the leading trends in the development of the national liberation movement have remained in force in our days, too. The changes which have occurred during these years have reflected primarily trends of a global nature. At the same time, many trends and processes have been engendered by the further development of the national liberation movement itself and particularly the economic, social and political differentiation which has accelerated in recent years both on the level of the entire movement and within the individual countries.

As for the trends of a global nature, these are largely linked to American policy. As is known, in the ruling circles of Washington the most reactionary, most anticommunist and anti-Soviet groupings closely linked with the military-industrial complex have gained the upper hand. These groupings have endeavored to abruptly alter the situation in the zone of the national liberation movement, to defeat the forces of national and social liberation and primarily cancel the outstanding victories achieved by these forces in the 1970's.

The U.S. Presidential Assistant for National Security, R. McFarlane, in speaking to journalists in December 1983, stated: "During this period (meaning precisely the 1970's.--A. K.) a tendency was established for an accelerated increase in the successes of the Soviet Union and the developing countries. One has merely to recall such turns of events in Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen, the countries of Indochina and ultimately in Iran and Afghanistan, to realize that during this period the general trend in the development of events was unfavorable for the West. And then: "The President has analyzed these trends and has studied the question of what must be done to reverse them...."

Here is a frank admission of what plans are being hatched in Washington. It is difficult to remember such outright hostility to all the new, progressive, freedom-loving and independent which exists in the zone of the national liberation movement, such outright disregard of the legitimate rights of the young

national states and such flagrant attempts to impose its will on them as is presently characteristic for Washington. In any event, this is so for many recent years.

The counteroffensive by imperialism against the national liberation movement, in being one of the component elements of its global strategy at the present stage, has assumed an exceptionally large-scale nature and has been marked by enormous diversity of methods and means. This includes both direct armed intervention or the threat of employing military force, economic pressure on the brink of dictatorship and the attempts to destabilize the economic activities of the young states. This is also total ideological warfare with an accent on its psychological methods and the subversive activities of special services.

Methods of force have come to the forefront. These include: the bandit armed invasion by the United States of Grenada and the overthrow of this nation's progressive regime; the intervention in Lebanon; the unceasing attempts to overthrow popular power in Nicaragua, to suppress the revolution in El Salvador, to destabilize the situation in Angola and Mozambique; the broadened scale of the undeclared war against Afghanistan and the subversive actions against the nations of Indochina. Here also we might mention the aggressive actions against their neighbors by Washington's handmaidens, Israel and South Africa, which have been raised by the Reagan Administration to the rank of "American strategic allies."

Very dangerous (for, aside from all else, it is fraught with hard-to-predict consequences) is the fact that the current Washington administration has begun to view events in the developing world through the prism of the global conflict of the United States and NATO against the USSR and Warsaw Pact countries.

The centers of tension provoked or supported by imperialism headed by the United States and the local conflict situations, particularly in direct proximity to the Soviet frontiers, should, according to Washington's plans, divert Soviet efforts from solving vitally important internal problems, deplete its resources and create definite difficulties for it on the international scene. But as is known, the so-called local military conflicts in which the history of Afro-Asian countries abounds in recent years, the conflicts which have arisen in a majority of instances due to imperialism, and in particular as a consequence of the colonial heritage left by it and the arms race forced by imperialism on the liberated countries are extremely dangerous for the cause of universal peace. Let us recall that in the course of the local conflicts during the period after World War II, over 10 million persons have already perished. It can be firmly stated that if it were not for the destructive policy of the current American administration, many conflict situations in the world, in particular in the zone of the national liberation movement, would long have been eliminated or have lost their present acuteness.

Washington had commenced to carry out plans for establishing a serious center of aggression in the Far East and these are dangerous to the cause of peace. The United States has constantly increased its military presence close to the Soviet Far Eastern frontiers, it has been pushing the militarization of Japan, endeavoring to more actively involve Japan in its global military-strategic plans, it is continuing to arm South Korea and to establish ever-new nuclear arsenals on its

territory. This policy is directed both against the socialist countries and the developing ones.

The United States would like to establish a triangle of Washington--Tokyo--Seoul and the ASEAN nations (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines), having turned this organization into a military grouping.

The plans of the United States and Japan of establishing a so-called Pacific Commonwealth cannot help but cause alarm as here they intend to include many liberated Asian countries. Its basic aim, as has been pointed out in the world press, is to broaden the opportunities of the imperialist states to exploit the human and raw material resources of the developing Asian countries. The initiators of the founding of this commonwealth also do not exclude a military implication.

The United States is intensely supplying modern arms to Pakistan and this raises the issue of the military equilibrium on the Indian Subcontinent and encourages subversive actions from the territory of this nation against India and Afghanistan. Washington, London and Bonn are allocating significant financial means for the Afghan counterrevolution.

Imperialism is endeavoring to block the normalization of the situation in Indochina, it is actively supporting the Khmer counterrevolution operating from Thai territory and is encouraging provocations on the Thai-Laotian border. The reaction is endeavoring to prevent an improvement of relations between the Indochinese nations, on the one hand, and the other ASEAN member states, on the other.

The United States is presently carrying out actions of political pressure and economic blackmail on an unprecedented scale. The election platform of the Republican Party proclaimed in August of last year in Dallas makes no secret of the fact that the American "aid" to the young states is determined by unambiguous political demands. Its recipients should follow the capitalist path of development or, as was pointed out in the document, "share our values and ideals." And these are far from empty threats.

Here is an example. When the United States, for provocative purposes, exaggerated the question of the well-known incident of the South Korean aircraft, the Zimbabwe representative to the UN Security Council refused to follow the Washington line. Then the United States threatened to reduce aid to this young state. At the XXXVIII UN General Assembly Session, the Zimbabwe representative assumed a principled position, having condemned the American invasion of Grenada, American policy in the Near East and the aggressive actions of the South African racists against Angola. In response the United States officially announced that it was cutting Zimbabwe aid in half.

The American decision to withdraw from UNESCO was an act of unprecedented blackmail against the developing countries and the entire world community. Washington took it into its mind to "punish" this organization, cutting off its contributions to the UNESCO fund (comprising a significant portion of its budget) for the fact that a majority of the UNESCO members, primarily the socialist and developing states, constantly condemned colonialism and racism, imperialist plunder in the zone of the national liberation movement, had demanded an end to

the predatory neocolonialist policy of the West and an end to information imperialism. Precisely the latter caused the greatest irritation in Washington.

England's decision to support the Washington position on UNESCO merely shows how far imperialism has gone in its attempt at blackmail and imposing its will.

What has happened in the imperialist camp? Why now do the United States and certain of its allies so openly violate the fundamental interests of the liberated countries and openly ignore their will? Let us endeavor to find out.

The nations of the zone of the national liberation movement as before are of enormous interest for imperialism. Both as a social reserve and as a treasure-house of valuable raw materials without which the capitalist economy would be virtually unviable; as a market for industrial goods; from the viewpoint of military-strategic plans; as a source of cheap manpower.

The United States and its allies obviously are assuming that they have secured dependable rears in the zone of the national liberation movement. The wager has been on South Africa and Israel and on such nations as Pakistan, on the long existing and newly established military bases on the territory of a comparatively large number of young states, and on the fact that the mechanism of ties between the developed and developing countries--ties in which the West is certainly interested, is well-established and dependable. Also to be considered is the fact that certain developing countries at present are more disunited than before. The war is continuing between Iran and Iraq and the relations of many Arab, Asian and African countries are beset by interstate contradictions.

In recent years, there has been an evermore apparent mutual interest in developing ties and broad collaboration among individual regimes and certain class forces in the zone of the national liberation movement, on the one hand, and the transnational corporations in the developed capitalist countries, on the other. The former more often see in the latter not only allies but also the guarantors of their flourishing and very existence (which, of course, does not exclude the presence of acute contradictions between them and even a struggle over individual questions, as can be clearly seen from the example of relations between Saudi Arabia and the United States).

While common interests are surviving and probably will survive for a long time between the developing countries in the struggle against imperialism and, respectively, an objective basis for their unity, the social trend of their development and political orientation will increasingly make itself felt. The time will come when it will not be enough to term one or another social phenomenon in the zone of the national liberation movement as progressive or reactionary. More definite sociopolitical characteristics are needed for the very concept of the "zone of the national liberation movement" even now does not completely adequately reflect the processes occurring there. These have produced both a capitalistically directed social development, an orientation toward socialism, a peoples-democratic trend, an independent foreign policy course and the following in the footsteps of imperialist policy.

In the last decade in the developing world social and class forces have begun to be actively formed which are oriented and most likely in the future will be

oriented to the developed capitalist nations. These, if it can be so put, are the "second generation" bearers of capitalist relations. Here we would put the bureaucratic and middle bourgeoisie which has grown stronger in the years of independence in many young states as well as the rural bourgeoisie which as a whole has undergone rapid growth after the agrarian reforms of the 1950's and 1960's and in some places the beginning of the 1970's. As for the industrial bourgeoisie, it has seriously strengthened its positions only in a small number of liberated countries, primarily the so-called new industrial states of Hong-kong, Singapore, South Korea and certain other countries.

Without going into detail on the nature of these new agents of capitalist development in the liberated countries (which should be a subject of special discussion), we would emphasize the following. The development and, in a number of instances, the very existence of "second generation" carriers of capitalist relations are most closely tied to the activities of the MNC [multinational corporations]. Even the industrial bourgeoisie which was mentioned by us and which grew up under the conditions of peripheral capitalist development to the strongest degree depends upon production ties with the MNC.

If this is correct, then it is also correct that world imperialism, with all the ups and downs in its policy toward the young states, does view and will view the national bourgeois forces as its support (although this again does not exclude the struggle against imperialism by the capitalist-oriented liberated countries and against its plunderous practices and aggressive policy).

But the uncereceremoniousness of imperialism toward a majority of the developing countries also has deep roots. And these roots lie in their colonial heritage.

The impact of the colonial heritage has been much stronger than was previously realized. Neither the cultural and, as a whole, the spiritual influence nor the social "predisposition" to a capitalist past of development stemming objectively from this heritage, in our view, are as difficult to overcome as the economic orientation of yesterday's colonies and dependent countries to the economy of the former colonial powers and the world capitalist economy. We have in mind primarily the least developed countries, the countries of the African Continent. The impression is created that their dependence upon the capitalist powers, once being established, seemingly reproduces itself. Let us endeavor to explain this notion. As is known, the orientation of the economy of the former colonies, particularly the least developed ones (the Tropical African states), on the production of various export industrial crops as well as individual types of mineral raw materials has led to their strongest dependence upon the world (capitalist) market, where the tone is set by the Western monopolies, and upon the needs of the developed capitalist countries for these raw materials. With unfavorably developing trends for the developing countries, and this is precisely what has prevailed starting from the second half of the 1970's, these nations have constantly lost in exports and spent evermore money on imports.

These losses which exacerbate the financial deficit, as practice shows, can in no way be made up by a majority of the developing countries, although they also resort to loans on foreign (basically capitalist) money markets. But the loans, as is well known, merely help to increase the external indebtedness of the young states.

Furthermore, the emphasis on "traditional export commodities" as the basic source for earning foreign exchange acutely essential for eliminating the colonial heritage and primarily for modernizing the economy has led to an underestimation of the importance of food crops such as, for example, sorghum, corn, sweet potatoes, cassava and so forth. In turn, the Western experts have strongly advised the young states to focus their efforts on producing primarily export raw materials which produce hard currency. Such a viewpoint is understandable as many capitalist countries are interested in exporting food to the young states.

The result has not been long in coming. If one takes Tropical Africa, the most dynamic peasant farms in various regions of the continent have been hurriedly converted to producing "income-earning" coffee, cocoa beans, tea and so forth to the detriment of the "low-earning" food crops. Many peasants have completely forsaken the land, moving into areas of the mining and processing of export mineral raw materials or flooding the cities in search of wages. In a number of instances the rapidly growing income from the sale of export raw materials and oil, as paradoxical as this may sound, have almost become a curse for the young states. These countries which until recently were exporters of various types of food on the world market in just a few years have been turned into major importers of food.

The rapid increase in the imports of food products, in turn, has helped to increase external indebtedness. It is not surprising that in the growing dependence of such countries upon the capitalist West on the level of food purchases and particularly its gratis receipt, in the export orientation of these countries predominantly to the markets of the leading capitalist countries, imperialism has found an important lever by which it endeavors to influence the policy of the young independent states.

Of course, a whole series of factors has been felt in the sharp deterioration of the economic status of many young states, upon the exacerbation of the food crisis and the rapid increase in external financial obligations as well as in their growing dependence upon world capitalism. Among these factors is the scientific and technical revolution as a result of which the developed capitalist countries have found substitutes for many types of raw materials previously imported from the developing countries or have reduced their volume of imports. Over the last several years, purchases in the developing countries have declined even for such a scarce raw material as oil, as a consequence of the active introduction of energy-saving equipment, the wider use of alternative energy sources and so forth. As the same time, having organized food production on an industrial basis, the West has begun to widely export food to the former colonies and semicolonies. All of this has contributed to a situation where the developed capitalist countries have significantly strengthened their positions in dealing with the liberated countries.

The economic situation of the liberated countries has also been negatively influenced by the extended cyclical decline in production in the developed capitalist countries with whom the liberated countries are closely linked economically as well as by the sharp rise in interest rates on financial markets. In this same category is the mistake by the ruling circles of a certain portion of young states in development strategy as the underestimation of possible negative

consequences from an orientation to relatively cheap (in comparison with the costs of local production) imported food, on external loans and so forth.

Ending up in a particularly bad situation have been those countries of the African Continent in which drought has raged for more than a decade now with slight interruptions. There are around 30 such countries. According to the data of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 150 million inhabitants of Africa suffer from hunger or malnutrition.

Just how serious the situation is can be judged from the fact that the external debt of the African nations has reached the fantastic figure of 150 billion dollars, increasing by 5-fold over the last 10 years.

Who is mainly to blame for those misfortunes which many African countries are experiencing. Of course, imperialism first of all. Because it has plundered and continued to plunder them, it resists the establishing of just international economic relations and refuses to compensate for that enormous loss which it caused to the former colonies and semicolonies.

At present, it is endeavoring to assume control over their industrial development, giving it a dependent nature. The daughter enterprises of the MNC established in the young countries, as a rule, do not have a complete production cycle and their own scientific and design facilities and are totally and completely dependent upon the head enterprises which are usually located in the metropolitan countries. In this manner imperialism gains yet another powerful lever of pressuring the governments of the developing countries. At the end of the 1970's, the MNC controlled 40 percent of the industrial production in the developing world.

Imperialism has found its own "approach" also to the countries which produce scarce raw materials. It has shifted the focus from control over the extraction of mineral raw materials to their sale on foreign markets. The marketing of 18 raw materials comprising the basis of exports for the developing countries is 50-60 percent controlled by the MNC and 11 of the most important of them by some 85-95 percent.

The neocolonialist policy of imperialism is the main reason for the gigantic foreign indebtedness of the developing countries. At present, it exceeds 1 trillion dollars.

The question arises of how one might assess the present stage in the development of the national liberation movement? Is it not a certain new point in the history of the developing countries which is characterized by their subordination to imperialism and by growing conservative-retrograde trends in them? Has not the growing dependence of many young states upon imperialism led to their actual re-colonization and, respectively, to checked development of progressive, anti-capitalist processes in them? This is often how the question is posed in progressive scientific and political literature in the West and the liberated countries themselves, and there is understandable concern for this.

We should begin with the fact that the national liberation revolutions, like any other revolutions, do not develop solely according to an ascending curve. There

is also the historical pattern that after major victories in the national liberation movement, as a rule, a sort of lull occurs (obviously essential for strengthening the forces of national and social liberation on certain lines, for a regrouping of their ranks, for a psychological readjustment, for elaborating a new ideological and political platform and so forth), on the one hand, as well as a period of counterattacks by imperialism which at times are very fierce and broad-scaled, on the other. These counterattacks are aimed at recovering lost positions at least partially if not fully, compensating for the losses and achieving headway in other areas.

In other words, revolutions do not occur without counterrevolutions. Even K. Marx pointed out that "a revolution moves forward by the fact that it creates a strong and solid counterrevolution."¹

At the same time, it must be particularly stipulated that even in periods of decline, the struggle between the forces of national and social liberation continue to attack the positions of imperialism and the reaction and individual detachments of them achieve new advances in the battles for national independence and social progress. Thus, recently imperialism headed by the United States suffered a major defeat in Lebanon.

Imperialism has repeatedly endeavored to gain revenge for the defeats which it suffered in the zone of the national liberation movement. After the winning of political independence during the first postwar years by such major Asian countries as India and Indonesia and which marked a very strong blow to the entire system of colonialism, the imperialist powers endeavored to drown in blood the freedom struggle of the patriots in a whole series of Afro-Asian countries (Malaya, Kenya, Vietnam and later Algeria, and so forth). The United States and the other imperialist powers conducted a fierce attack on the liberated countries, endeavoring to turn them against real socialism, to involve them in their militaristic preparations, to enlist them in military-political groupings and blocs, to establish military bases on their territories and prevent them from carrying out an independent foreign policy course and particularly developing ties with the Soviet Union. Imperialism endeavored to nip the non-alignment movement in the bud, seeing in it a dangerous anticolonial and antiimperialist trend. Did imperialism succeed in all of this? As we know, it did not.

After the historic victories of the African peoples including the formation of scores of independent countries on the continent at the beginning of the 1960's and after the final collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, a complicated time began in the development of the national liberation movement. The forces of domestic and external reaction in some places succeeded in gaining revenge as rightist coups occurred in Ghana and certain other countries.

In turn, the Portuguese fascist regime, in resorting to the most modern weapons delivered by the NATO countries, endeavored to defeat the national liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau in the aim of maintaining its colonies in Africa. But what were the final results? The place of the states which had departed from a socialist orientation was taken by many new states.

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol. 7, p. 7.

American imperialism suffered a crushing defeat in Vietnam. Revolution triumphed in Laos. After the period of the bloody Pol Pot clique, Cambodia set out on the path of social progress. Independent countries of a progressive social orientation arose in the place of the former Portuguese colonies.

Proceeding from its geopolitical interests in the area of the Near and Middle East, the United States in every possible way strengthened the despotic, anti-popular regime of the Shah in Iran as it saw in the Shah a dependable ally in the oil-rich Persian Gulf. However, here too it suffered a clear defeat. The 1970's brought the peoples of the Afro-Asian countries many other glorious victories. Here we should mention first of all the victories of the Afghan and Ethiopian revolutions.

What conclusion stems from all this? Imperialism has constantly endeavored to seek revenge for its defeats, ignoring the irrefutable fact that the changes in the zone of the national liberation movements have come about according to laws of natural historical development and not due to the "intrigues of the Reds," "the subversive actions of Moscow" or any other scenario.

Imperialism frequently has organized and implemented military coups precisely following its own scenarios, endeavoring to implant everywhere regimes that are obedient to it. It hatches intrigues and promptly encourages and directs the course of the sociopolitical and economic processes which, according to its plans, should ultimately lead to a defeat for the progressive forces.

But the more imperialism tries to halt or delay the natural historical process of the struggle of peoples for national and social liberation, the more actively the forces are joined which oppose this policy. The development of the national liberation movement at the present stage is undoubtedly complex and contradictory. However, imperialism is unable either to halt the development of the process of social renewal in the former colonies and semicolonies or even more recolonize them. This is also confirmed by the struggle which is being waged against imperialism and its local supporters by the forces of national and social liberation in the various regions of the developing world. This is also confirmed by those successes which they have achieved in this struggle.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

SOVIET PEACE DELEGATION HEAD SUMS UP MANILA PEACE CONFERENCE

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 pp 30-31

[Interview with Yu. S. Kukushkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Dean of the History Faculty at Moscow State University and head of the Soviet delegation to the Manila Peace Forum, by correspondent B. Zarankin: "The Peace Forum in Manila"]

[Text] The "International Conference on Peace and Security in East Asia and the Pacific Area" was held in Manila on the eve of 1985; the conference was convened upon the initiative of the Philippines Peace and Solidarity Council with the participation of the World Peace Council.

Our correspondent B. Zarankin met with the leader of the delegation from the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace which participated in the conference, the Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Dean of the History Faculty of Moscow State University, Yu. S. Kukushkin, and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Question] Please tell us, Yuriy Stepanovich [Kukushkin], for what purpose was the Manila conference convened?

[Answer] Each year the antiwar and antinuclear movement of peoples grows and becomes broader. Arising in Europe, where the conflagration of two world wars broke out which carried away tens of millions of human lives, the peace and disarmament movement has gained strength, it has overstepped the boundaries of this continent and become an important factor of international life which no one can disregard.

The growing arms race, particularly nuclear arms, in being imposed on mankind by the American military-industrial complex which reaps gigantic profit from this threatens human civilization with complete destruction. This harsh political reality of today, as the widening, world-wide movement of peace supporters shows, has aroused particular concern and caused an ever-greater number of persons in various countries and continents to take active action.

It is worthy of note that in following the unprecedented upsurge in recent years in the antiwar and antinuclear movement in Europe and North America, there has been a marked intensification of the peace and disarmament movement in the Asian and Pacific countries. There has been a significant rise in the awareness of the public in the region's countries of that indisputable fact that in our nuclear age, no one, regardless of at what latitudes they might live, can feel safe in the event of the outbreak of a nuclear conflict. The concern of the public in the Asian and Pacific countries over the growing process of militarization in the region, the strengthening and expansion in this region of the world of the network of American military bases which constantly threaten the independence and sovereignty of the young developing states as well as the related growing danger of a nuclear war was the main reason for the calling of the conference in Manila. Precisely these questions attracted the basic attention of the conference participants.

In addition to our delegation, taking part in the conference were prominent figures of the antiwar movement from Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and the Solomon Islands as well as representatives from such international democratic organizations as the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the International Students Union (ISU) as well as a delegation from the World Peace Council headed by its president, R. Chandra.

The conference delegates showed great interest in the welcoming speech at its opening given by the Philippine Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, P. Castro, who pointed out the long adherence of his country to the principles of peace, friendship and cooperation with all states and peoples, particularly with neighboring ones, as well as the vital interest of the Philippines in strengthening peace, good neighborliness and collaboration in the region.

[Question] What questions were the center of attention for the conference participants?

[Answer] In discussing the urgent problems of preventing nuclear war on our planet as well as questions such as the growing nuclear threat to the nations of the region, the socioeconomic aspects of the problem of peace and security in East Asia and the Pacific Basin, in exchanging experience of the antiwar work in their countries, the conference participants came out decisively against a further increase in U.S. military presence in the region and the arming of American naval vessels cruising the Pacific waters with the Tomahawk nuclear cruise missiles.

As the conference showed, the Philippine public and the supporters of peace from other Asian and Pacific countries are seriously concerned over the major military bases in the region located on the Philippine Archipelago, Clark Air Field and the Subic Bay Navy Base, the Pentagon's plans to put together a new military bloc in the Far East involving the United States, Japan and South Korea with functions analogous to the functions of the NATO bloc in Europe, as well as the constant attempts by American diplomacy to give a military nature to a number of the political-economic alliances already existing in Southeast Asia and the South Pacific.

Quite naturally--and this was confirmed by the speeches of the conference delegates--such development of events coupled with the rapidly progressing process of militarization in Japan which has assumed the role of a junior American partner and at the same time a number of obligations of a military nature, has aroused concern among the peoples of this vast region. They are evermore clearly aware of the threat of the nuclear conflagration which hangs over the Asian and Pacific states.

Many delegates who spoke at the conference emphasized that all peoples, large and small, are vitally interested in confrontation giving way to dialogues and rapprochement, tension and suspicion to confidence, while isolation and various forms of alienation would be replaced by broad political, economic and cultural collaboration of all nations, regardless of their social system.

In speaking about the ignoring of these aspirations of the region's peoples by American imperialism, the delegates of the Manila forum emphasized how important a strengthening of the antiwar struggle was in the current tense situation. They urged a rallying of all forces against the arms race, regardless of the differences of their ideological concepts and religious convictions.

Resounding loudly at the forum were voices in support of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war from the life of mankind, at disarmament and establishing a lasting peace in Asia and the Far East.

In the opinion of a predominant majority of delegates participating in the conference, such practical steps as the assuming by all nuclear powers of an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the elimination of all foreign military bases in the region the concluding by the interested Asian and Pacific states of a convention governing non-aggression and the rejection of force in dealing with one another, the establishing of peace zones in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, the proclaiming of Southeast Asia as a zone of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation, the immediate convening of a UN conference on the Indian Ocean as well as turning the South Pacific into a nuclear-free zone could substantially lessen the tension existing in the region and help to strengthen peace both in Asia and the Pacific Basin as throughout the world. For this, they said, the leaders of all the states interested in strengthening peace must show realism and political will.

Of great interest were the statements of the delegates which took up the rich experience in the antiwar struggle gained by the peace movements of Australia, New Zealand and the island states of the Pacific Basin. In particular, the conference participants were interested in the speeches which described how mass antiwar actions had ultimately led to positive measures on the state level. Thus, the conference delegates enthusiastically heard the speech by the representative of the New Zealand antiwar movement, Rhea Stewart, who described the decision of the New Zealand government to ban ships carrying nuclear weapons from calling at New Zealand ports.

The Australian delegate, Tom Saple, provided detailed information for the participants of the Manila forum on the major antiwar actions of the Australian peace supporters carried out in the course of the traditional Disarmament Actions Week

as well as the planned convening of a region-wide conference for peace fighters in Sydney in October 1985.

The President of the Nepalese Peace Committee and the prominent political and social figure of Nepal, Doctor Negashwar P. Singh described the scope of the antiwar movement in Nepal and the plans of the Nepalese peace supporters for the future.

In speaking about the results of the Manila conference, it must be pointed out that it adopted a whole series of important political documents. Among them was the General Political Declaration and the Manila Appeal to the governments of the Asian and Pacific countries as well as the states which are permanent members of the UN Security Council. The conference delegates sent a message to the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. Special resolutions were adopted concerning the questions of ensuring peace and security in Asia and the Pacific Basin as well as a series of other documents on urgent international problems. All of them in emphasizing the extraordinary complexity of the current international situation and placing responsibility for this on the aggressive militaristic circles of American imperialism, have called upon the peace-loving forces of the world to redouble their vigilance when confronted with the perfidious plans of the instigators of a new world war and make even more decisive efforts aimed at defending peace, disarmament and eliminating the nuclear threat. The documents adopted by the conference contain an appeal to all of those who actually want peace to celebrate the victory over Naziism and Japanese militarism as well as the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombings of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by American aviation with mass, wide-scale demonstrations.

[Question] What, in your view, was the importance of this past conference?

[Answer] The Manila conference has become an important point in the struggle of the world community for peace and disarmament. It clearly demonstrated the steadfast will and readiness of the Asian and Pacific peoples for decisive actions together with all the peace-loving forces of the world for the sake of exercising the main right of each man, the right to life. I am confident that, in contributing to a better understanding of the growing nuclear threat by the region's peoples and in reflecting their concern over the development of the international situation in this region of the world, the Manila forum will provide a new, powerful impetus for the development of the antiwar and antinuclear movement in the Asian and Pacific countries and will help to mobilize the efforts of all supporters of peace to fight against the forces of reaction and war.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, ETHNIC CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA ANALYZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 pp 32-35

[Article by A. Mikhaylov: "Difficult Times"]

[Excerpts] In July 1977, the bourgeois United National Party (UNP), having won a victory at the general parliamentary elections, formed the Sri Lanka government. Almost 8 years have passed since then and this is fully sufficient time to sum up certain results of this cabinet's activities.

The previous coalition government of the United Front¹ which was in power from 1970 through 1977, proceeded from the necessity of ensuring and strengthening the nation's economic independence. In its economic policy, the United Front government which was headed by the leader of the SLFP, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, emphasized the country's own forces and the use chiefly of national resources and broadened and strengthened the state sector in the key branches of the economy, allowing the involvement of foreign capital, as a rule, only under strict state control. Here the government of S. Bandaranaike endeavored to combine the economic and social goals of development and attempted to maintain the achieved level of prosperity for the broad masses of people.

The new cabinet chose the opposite course aimed at unlimited development and the strengthening of capitalist relations in Sri Lanka, the reinforcing of private capital positions and the broadening of the sphere of its activities. The government of the President J. R. Jayewardene denationalized a number of industrial enterprises in the state sector, it eliminated control over prices and imports and introduced a "floating" rate of the Sri Lankan rupee. The ruling party was out to establish in the nation the best opportunities for foreign capital including freeing future investors from paying taxes for a period of up to 10 years.

According to the plans of the UNP government, the policy of liberalizing the economy, that is, encouraging foreign investments and stimulating local private capitalist enterprises, was to become the main factor which should contribute to progress in the nation's economic development.

¹ The United Front and its government included the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the Sri Lanka Socialist Party (up to 1975) and the Sri Lanka Communist Party (SLCP).

The government instituted a special "capital investment encouragement zone" or, as it is also known, a "free trade zone" in order to help attract foreign investors to the nation, accelerate Sri Lankan industrial development and acquire modern technology.²

At first glance, the UNP economic policy has brought substantial positive results. Capital investments in the economy have increased and gross national product has risen. The liberalization of the market, the carrying out of a "green revolution" and eliminating food subsidies and price control have led to increased rice harvests and Sri Lanka has virtually reached self-sufficiency for this main food product of the Sri Lankans. The situation in fishing and meat production has also improved. There have been definite accomplishments in building the largest economic installations.

Certainly the most visible result of this policy has been the appearance of modern consumer goods produced in the country and previously the nation experienced an acute shortage of these; there has also been a drop in the number of unemployed.

However, the unprecedented influx of foreign capital made possible by the above-mentioned concessions as well as various benefits and concessions to it, the freeing of the economy from state control and the significant drop in expenditures on social needs also have a reverse side. The nation's foreign debt in 1982 exceeded 42 billion Sri Lankan rupees, that is, it increased by almost 4-fold in comparison with 1977. The trade and balance of payments deficit has constantly been increasing as well as the budget deficit. The government's socioeconomic measures in one way or another have led to a deterioration in the status of the poor (according to certain data, around one-half of the nation's inhabitants live below the "poverty line," that is, their income does not exceed 300 rupees a month), to an increase in the cost of living, to an exacerbation of social inequality and to a drop in the real income of the poor and middle classes.

Above, mention was made of the government's successes in the area of increasing the volume of agricultural production. However, the main socioeconomic result of the UNP policy in terms of rice production and distribution has been an acceleration of the progress of class polarization in the countryside. Having been put into the hands of private merchants, the purchasing of rice and crediting of its production, under the conditions of galloping and uncontrolled inflation, has devastated the small peasant farms and has helped enrich the middlemen, the users and "rich peasants."

The UNP economic policy has evoked decisive condemnation by the opposition parties and primarily the Sri Lanka Communist Party. The strike movement of the

² In this zone the foreign firms can carry out production and trade activities fully oriented at exports under very favorable conditions. For a low fee they are provided with land, water and electric power, they are able to use cheaper manpower than in many other developing countries and, consequently, earn very high profits.

Sri Lankan workers and working class for their inherent interest is growing broader regardless of the fierce government measures against the strikers.

In July 1983, in Sri Lanka there was an extremely serious deterioration of the domestic political situation with the immediate cause being a clash between the Sinhalese and Tamils. The pretext for these was a sharp exacerbation of religious-community and international contradictions inherited from the colonial period and the policy of "divide and rule" carried out by the British colonialists. However, the true roots for destabilizing the situation in the nation are to obviously be found in the increased socioeconomic difficulties and problems.

Rivalry and clashes between the Sinhalese and Tamils had occurred previously, but they have become more frequent with the coming to power of the UNP government. Thus, serious intercommunal clashes had occurred in 1977, 1979 and 1981. However, the events of July 1983 were the most dangerous in terms of their results and consequences. In the course of the disorders, around 400 persons were killed according to the official data; some 100,000 persons lost their homes; some 18,000 residences were completely destroyed or greatly damaged; more than 100 industrial enterprises suffered substantial damage. As a result of this, the already significant army of unemployed increased. The "tourist industry," one of the main sources of the nation's income, has encountered serious problems because of the disorders which led to a sharp drop in the influx of foreign tourists.

In the progressive sociopolitical circles of Sri Lanka, the opinion is widespread that the Sinhalese-Tamil clashes of 1983 were provoked by the most reactionary, chauvinistic circles in the aim of diverting worker attention from the unresolved socioeconomic problems, directing the dissatisfaction of the broad masses of Sinhalese over their plight against the comparatively more prosperous Tamil national minority and thereby blunt the focus of class contradictions. At the same time, this question was also to be employed for foreign political purposes. A noisy anti-Indian campaign was stirred up over these events. India was accused of supporting the Tamil extremists who were in favor of establishing a separate Tamil state of Tamil Ilam. Rumors were floated on the possibility of an invasion of Sri Lanka by Indian troops for protecting the Tamil minority which is ethnically the same as the population from the Indian state of Tamilnadu. Appeals were voiced to turn for military aid to the United States, Great Britain and other countries for opposing the "Indian threat."

The reactionary circles in Sri Lanka have endeavored to use the intercommunal disorders for undermining the positions of the leftist forces. The authorities have accused the LSCP and two other leftist parties (the People's Liberation Front and the New Socialist Party) of organizing the Sinhalese-Tamil clashes in the aims of destabilizing the internal political situation and overthrowing the UNP government. Here semiofficial statements have been made on the complicity in these disorders of a "major foreign power" supporting the leftist parties.

On 30 July 1983, a ban was introduced on the activities of these leftist parties. Their headquarters were sealed and the publishing of newspapers halted. A number of their leaders, including the General Secretary of the LSCP Central Committee and three members of the Politburo of the party Central Committee were arrested.

The complete groundlessness of these false accusations was perfectly obvious. Even in August the government had officially repudiated the announcement of the complicity of foreign states in the July events. On 24 September, under the pressure of broad strata of the public, all the opposition parties and even certain leaders of the ruling party, the LSCP leaders were released from prison and in mid-October the ban was lifted on party activities and the publishing of party newspapers resumed in November. (The activities of the two other parties remained banned.)

At present, a difficult situation remains in the nation. In the northern and eastern regions, terroristic acts and armed attacks by Tamil extremists on state institutions, banks and transport have not halted. There have also been individual clashes with army subunits. Voices have again been heard on the complicity of India in the activities of the Tamil fighters.

The deterioration of Sri Lankan-Indian relations would meet the plans of the Washington administration which has made constant efforts to militarize the Indian Ocean, and to deploy nuclear weapons in this area. It is endeavoring to achieve American military presence on Sri Lankan territory and utilize this country in the interest of its global and regional militaristic strategy. In particular, this was the purpose of the visit to Colombo by the presidential special envoy Gen V. Walters. It must be emphasized that, in continuing as a whole to carry out the traditional foreign policy of Sri Lanka based on the principles of nonalignment with military-political blocs, the UNP government has made an ever-greater tilt toward more active collaboration with the United States, Great Britain, Japan and other capitalist states. One of the reasons for such a development of events has been the ever-increasing economic dependence of Sri Lanka upon the West. This has already led to a situation where the policy carried out in 1970-1977 of nonalignment, antiimperialism and the development of relations with all states has undergone significant changes.

An important foreign policy action of the UNP government has been the official visit by the Sri Lankan President J. R. Jayewardene to the United States in June of last year. In the course of this, agreements were signed on scientific, technical and economic collaboration, and questions were discussed of the international situation and "international terrorism," the Tamil problem and the related difficulties in relations between Sri Lanka and India, as well as certain aspects of Sri Lankan-American relations, in particular, financial and food assistance.

The representatives of both governments denied that during the talks the question had been raised of military collaboration between Sri Lanka and the United States. However, it is well known that Washington has long been endeavoring to obtain the rights to employ Sri Lankan ports for American naval vessels and to build naval installations in Trincomalee. Sri Lanka itself may feel that certain elements in the UNP government and circles close to it could attempt to use the intercommunal contradictions in order to grant the right to the United States of a military presence in Sri Lanka in exchange for obtaining new economic aid.

Time will show just how valid are these suppositions. At present, with full justification it can be asserted that both the economic and foreign policy strategy of the UNP government is encountering growing opposition from a significant portion of the nation's population.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

SOUTH AFRICA: ANTI APARTHEID FORCES' STRUGGLE DOCUMENTED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 pp 36-40

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Shubin: "Between the Anvil and the Hammer"]

[Excerpts] Between the anvil of mass actions and the hammer of armed combat we will destroy apartheid and the racist rule of the white minority.

From a letter of Nelson Mandela from prison

The situation in the south of Africa again, as has repeatedly happened previously, is at the center of attention of the world community. Such events in international life as the signing of the "Nkomati Treaty" between Mozambique and the racist regime in Pretoria, the reaching of agreement between Angola and South Africa on the withdrawal of South African troops from the southern regions of Angola (both these agreements, however, have been violated by the racists) and the meetings in Lusaka and the Cape Verde Islands between the representatives of the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and South Africa have been widely taken up by the mass information media. But against the background of these events, the internal situation in South Africa has sometimes remained a bit in the shade, although there is no doubt that precisely this has a determining effect on Pretoria's foreign policy and largely determines the situation in the entire south of the African continent.

The fiercest exploitation and the lack of political rights among the suppressed black majority have evoked its sharp dissatisfaction with the existing orders. The black "lower orders" less and less want "to live in the old way," and the white "haves" are finding it evermore difficult to "rule in the old way." But the degree to which the objectively broadening opportunities for a rise in the liberation struggle will be realized depends primarily upon the level of political and organizational work carried out by the South African revolutionaries. The President of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa O. Tambo, in his speech in January 1983, outlined the following tasks on this level: to unite the people in strong mass democratic organizations; to unite all revolutionaries in underground groups of the ANC; to unite all fighters into detachments of "Umkhonto We Sizwe" (the ANC armed wing.--V. Sh.), and unite all the democratic forces in a single front of national liberation.

The time has long passed since the Pretoria authorities have willingly published announcements about "acts of terrorists," endeavoring to intimidate the South Africans, primarily the whites, with the threat of a "total offensive by the Marxist countries" against South Africa. They have come to realize that such announcements in no way intimidate a majority of the nation's population but, on the contrary, evoke increased sympathy for the ANC and confidence in its final victory. Then another period commenced, a period of remaining silent about the activities of the ANC and the armed operations by the regime's enemy. In the opinion of Western observers, the South African press is permitted to publish only 20-25 percent of the "sabotage acts" and clashes with government forces.

It must particularly be pointed out that the armed actions of the ANC are being carried out not in isolation but in direct relation to the actions of the masses. For example, during the months-long boycott of bus service by the residents of the Mdantsane Township (suburban settlement) in the Bantustan Ciskei over increased fares, "Umkhonto We Sizwe" conducted operations against the Ciskei governmental institutions in Johannesburg and Pretoria, in response to the brutalities of the supporters of Lennox Sebe, the henchman of the racists and "president for life" of this Bantustan.

Such operations have become a sort of signal for mass rebel actions. In the same Ciskei, police headquarters and houses where the supporters of the regime live have repeatedly come under attack using home-made bombs. Analogous actions have been undertaken in Soweto and other townships in the Transvaal. Things have reached such a point that the members of the so-called Soweto "town council" have turned to the government with a request for increased salaries as they are holding positions "involving a great risk."

After the signing on 16 March 1984 of the "Treaty of Peace and Good Neighborliness Between South Africa and Mozambique"¹ the Pretoria rulers asserted that this dealt a "harsh blow" to the ANC, since its armed operations were conducted supposedly from Mozambique territory and the actions of "Umkhonto We Sizwe" would be now restricted to just "several last shots."

The viewpoint of the ANC leadership to the developing situation was expressed in an interview by a member of the ANC National Executive Committee and Commissar of "Umkhonto We Sizwe" K. Hani to the newspaper MAYIBUYE, thousands of copies of which are distributed by underground workers in Africa. He voiced the opinion that the signing of the "Nkomati Treaty" would in fact complicate the struggle for national liberation and social equality in South Africa, but emphasized that "the armed struggle has roots within the country" and that the ANC "has never conducted military operations from Mozambique territory or from any other state bordering South Africa." K. Hani also recalled that the ANC began its armed struggle long before independence had been won by Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and the other countries in the south of the continent.

¹ For more detail, see: Aleksandr Bovin, "The South of Africa. What Next?" AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 6, 1984.

The increased resistance of the mass, resistance which more and more often is armed, has alarmed the Pretoria authorities and their imperialist supporters. In June 1984, the member of the South Africa Presidential Council B. Sutton gave a characteristic admission of the scope of the liberation struggle: "The revolution in South Africa has already commenced. Our task is to check it." As before, repression is the basic method of "restraint." Thousands of South Africans have been thrown into prisons for participation in the struggle against the apartheid regime or for sympathy for this struggle. In using hired murderers, the authorities have unleashed brutal retribution against the leaders of the African population in the townships. In 1984, there was a sharp increase in the number of South Africans "detained" by the police for an indefinite time and in accord with the so-called "Law on the Defense of Information" the newspapers are prohibited from publishing information about these arrests.

But Pretoria realizes that repression alone will not halt the increase in the liberation forces. It must be pointed out that the South African government, the richest African state, still has many opportunities for social maneuvering and it would be premature to assert, as has sometimes been done, that the apartheid regime is already "in agony" or is "on the brink of collapse." The current South African President P. Botha, who assumed the position of prime minister in 1978, has proposed the slogan: "Adapt or perish!" and the authorities are endeavoring to realize this slogan in practice in such a manner that the "adaptation" to the altered conditions does not touch the fundamentals of apartheid.

For this reason, along with continuing the policy of bantustanization and which contributes to the formation of bureaucratic African bourgeoisie in the "homelands" and "independent" black pseudostates, emphasis is also being put on encouraging the better-off strata of Africans in the townships and on putting the limited number of "permanent urban blacks" in opposition to the African migrant workers.

For these purposes, simultaneously with the preparing of a draft of a new constitution, the South African government has established a special committee for examining the questions of the "constitutional development of the urban black."

As is known, during the referendum held among the whites on 2 November 1983, a new South African Constitution was formally approved by two-thirds of the voters participating in the voting. But this was a mere formality. In actuality both the constitution and the "genocide laws" were rejected by an absolute majority of the nation's population. In South Africa the "Nos!" are growing louder and louder not only to the present maneuvers of the authorities but also to the racist regime as a whole.

A new, unprecedented powerful manifestation of this "No" was the establishing of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the country. On 20 August 1983, in the area of Rocklands, close to Capetown, over 12,000 persons assembled and these were delegates representing around 400 different mass legal organizations and their numerous supporters. This forum which was the largest in the history of South Africa since the mass disobedience movement of the 1950's, resolved to establish a broad coalition of antiracist forces on a nationwide scale.

The determination of the fighters against apartheid who have entered the ranks of the UDF is best expressed by three terse words: "All, Here, Now," which at present are frequently heard in South Africa. They were voiced by the prominent social figure in the nation, the priest Allan Boesak, speaking at the opening of the Rocklands Conference: "We want to obtain all our rights, we want to obtain them here, we want to obtain them now. We have been waiting for them as long as we have been fighting. For too long we have beseeched, cried and petitioned. For too long we have been thrown into prisons, exiled and murdered. Now our time has come."

On the day of the opening of the constituent conference of the UDF, the Johannesburg newspaper STAR commented: "This is a front which the government will follow very carefully but it has already attracted so many organizations that it will be hard to ban it or persecute it too openly." In actuality, the authorities could not decide to directly ban the conference, although both secretly and openly they established many obstacles for holding it.

But all these attempts were in vain. The response of broad circles of the progressive South African community to the appeal for unity in the struggle against the racist orders surpassed all expectation.

Resounding as an oath are the words of the Declaration unanimously approved by the conference participants: "We, the freedom-loving people of South Africa, in a single voice declare to the entire world that we:

"Hold dear the cause of establishing an united democratic South Africa based upon the will of the people;

"Will work for the unity of all our people by joint actions against the evil of apartheid, economic as well as all other forms of exploitation."

In addition to the Declaration, several solutions were adopted on specific problems, including the status of the workers. This resolution pointed to the role of the working class in "leading the democratic struggle for freedom."

At the conference words were spoken of solidarity with the courageous struggle of the Namibian people. The connivance with the Pretoria regime on the part of England, the United States and Israel was condemned.

Just two conditions had been established for any organization to join the UDF: support for its declaration adopted at the Front's constituent conference and refusal to participate in the structures of power established by the South African rulers. This has made it possible to organize an antiracist coalition which is unprecedented in its breadth: over the first 3 months of the existence of the UDF on a nation-wide scale another 178 organizations joined its ranks and the total number of its members reached 1 million persons and is continuing to increase.

To a large degree increased authority of the Front has been aided by the fact that its leaders and activists, not limiting themselves to program declarations, as important as these might be, immediately began to carry them out.

On 26 November 1983, the South African authorities organized elections for the so-called "city councils" of Soweto and 25 other townships declared to be "black cities" under the "Koornhof Law." Their results were a bitter disappointment for Pretoria which was hoping for an increase in the "moderate mood" of the Africans who had received the status of "permanent urban blacks." If anyone needed to be convinced of the inacceptability of the puppet local bodies for them, the elections helped do this. Upon the appeal of the UDF and the organizations comprising it, the Africans almost completely boycotted the elections. In Soweto only 10.7 percent of the registered voters voted and these official data are greatly inflated.

At the First National Conference of the UDF held on 16-18 December 1983 in Port Elizabeth, decisions were adopted for initiating a campaign to collect signatures for a petition against the constitution and for organizing actions against the induction of "coloreds" and Indians into the South African Army as well as against the recruitment of Africans for it. Other areas of UDF activities were a campaign against the forced movement of blacks out of "white" areas, and support for actions by township residents against increased rent and protests by school children against inequality in the educational system.

From the start of 1984, the question of the participation or non-participation of "coloreds" and Indians in the government bodies established under the new constitution became the most acute question in the nation's political life.

Even before the referendum among the whites, P. Botha promised "to establish also the opinion of the coloreds and Indians." Logically one might also expect the holding of referendums among them. But as the mass campaign developed under the UDF leadership against the new constitution, the leaders of the racists and their supporters realized more and more clearly that the draft constitution could be rejected by the "coloreds" and Indians. The Labor Party (of "coloreds") at its congress on 4 January 1984 came out in favor of holding elections in accord with the new constitution, elections which would supposedly be a testing of the attitude of the "colored" population to the constitution. (Here the party leader, A. Hendrickse, actually admitted that they feared opposition from the UDF.) Such a position was, of course, playing into the hands of the South African government. Later, when the National People's Party (of Indians) proposed that the referendum still be held, in contrast to its consiliatory colleagues from the "coloreds," the authorities merely ignored its opinion.

All the progressive organizations of South Africa urged a boycott of the elections set, respectively, for 22 and 29 August 1984 for the "colored" and "Indian" chambers. The UDF began to play an active role in this campaign from the very outset. In the various regions of the nation the Front and the organizations participating in it held thousands of meetings and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets.

The UDF has had to act under difficult conditions, when the South African Police openly took the side of the consiliators from the Labor and other "parties" during the stormy pre-election meetings. The Communitel Firm closely linked to the South African Nationalist Party took an active part in financing the Laborites and in organizing "policy strategy seminars" for them. The authorities also gained support from the Indian conciliatory groupings. In a number of

regions the residents were threatened with expulsion and the loss of pensions in the event that they refused to vote.

In a situation of an upsurge in the political struggle in South Africa in 1984, mass actions also increased sharply in defense of the vital interests of the suppressed majority. For the first time in recent decades, a mass strike was held by African miners, the township residents protested against increased rents and transport fares while students and pupils protested against the racist educational system. Among the participants in these actions there was an ever-clearer realization that their daily needs could not be satisfied with a fundamental break with the orders existing in the nation.

Regardless of the intimidation of the population and direct intervention by the police, the elections for the "colored" and "Indian" chambers of parliament ended with a complete defeat for their organizers. On 22 August, only 28.5 percent of the voters participated in the elections with just 10 percent in the basic area of the mass residence of "coloreds," that is, Capetown and its surroundings. The boycott of the elections on 29 August was more complete (by 80 percent). As a whole, considering that over 40 percent of the "coloreds" and 20 percent of the Indians refused to register as voters, among the "coloreds" only 18 percent of those having the right to vote did so and among the Indians less than 16 percent.

But the rulers of Pretoria, even when confronted with the obvious refusal of a majority of the "coloreds" and Indians to support the new constitution, still introduced it on 3 September 1984. P. Botha, having assumed the position of South African president on 14 September, formed a cabinet which included one conciliator from the Labor Party and one from the so-called Solidarity Party (of Indians) as "ministers without portfolio."

This farce was carried out in a taut political atmosphere. Since August 1984, mass protest actions by hundreds of thousands of peoples had not ceased in South Africa. The punitive organs of the regime had repeatedly employed weapons. During this period hundreds of persons became victims of the brutality. On 5-6 November, a political strike of black workers was held in the Transvaal and this involved around a million persons.

"...The mood of the suppressed masses of people in South Africa shows their readiness for revolt. A civil war is maturing in the nation," was how the situation was described in the documents of the 6th Congress of the South African Communist Party held at the end of 1984.

In actuality, the scope of the struggle has reached such an extent that for the first time in South African history army units were openly committed to help the police. Repression was unleashed against the leadership and activists of the UDF.

However, at the moment the Front was founded, observers commented that it would be harder for the authorities to undermine it than the previously existing legal political associations in South Africa for it was based upon hundreds of mass organizations comprising it. As the pretext for repression against the UDF, the authorities have repeatedly raised the accusation that it is being manipulated by the "invisible hand of the ANC." But the very history of the Front's

formation shows that it did not arise out of anyone's bidding but rather as an expression of the desire of the broad masses united into legal organizations for joint actions. "In other words," wrote the organ of the ANC, the magazine SECHABA, "the appearance of the UDF was a reaction to the catastrophic policy of the regime.... The UDF is mobilizing all the people within a single mass movement and coordinates the resistance of the communities but it is not endeavoring to take over for the recognized organizations of the people."

Recognition by the masses of people of the leading role played by the ANC in the struggle for the freedom of South Africa continues to broaden, regardless of the repression and propaganda by the racist regime. This has also been apparent at the UDF meetings when their participants sing songs in honor of Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and the "Umkhonoto We Sizwe" fighters.

"Between the anvil and the hammer...."

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10272

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS LEADER NOTES GROWING RESISTANCE

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 p 40

[Article by V. Sevryukov: "Resistance is Growing"]

[Text] A delegation of the African National Congress [ANC], headed by its general secretary Alfred Nzo was in Moscow. The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Countries of Asia and Africa arranged a press conference at which A. Nzo told journalists about the situation, complicated recently, in the south of the continent, about the most important aspects of the liberation struggle in the region and emphasized, in particular, that the mass democratic movement had reached an even higher level in 1984.

Attempts by the racist leaders in Pretoria and their allies to strengthen the regime and to lead it out of isolation by means of separate cosmetic reforms and at the same time to split the unity of the "frontline" states supporting the just cause of the people of South Africa, is meeting growing resistance, both within the country and in the international arena. A. Nzo noted that industrial workers, young people, the Indian and "colored" population of South Africa speaking out against the criminal system of apartheid have become particularly active. The disaffection with this system has noticeably strengthened among the white minority as well, democratic circles of which ever more distinctly realize that it is impossible to resolve the greatest problems of the state without the participation of the ANC.

The movement against apartheid is continually gathering forces in a number of Western countries. Even in the U.S., which views the Republic of South Africa as its strategic ally, voices demanding an end to the so-called constructive engagement with Pretoria are sounding more loudly.

In the face of the aggravated economic and political crisis, A. Nzo continued, the apartheid regime is becoming more and more imprudent and cruel. It stubbornly refuses to grant independence to Namibia. Racist troops, sharpening tyranny and force, are continuing to occupy southern regions of Angola. Threats of armed incursion against other countries of the region are not ceasing.

Expressing deep gratitude to progressive democratic forces of the whole world and their unchanging support for the ANC, Alfred Nzo particularly noted the contribution of the CPSU and the Soviet state and other socialist countries in the cause of maintaining peace on earth and the liberation of oppressed peoples.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BOOK ON AFRICAN POLITICAL PARTIES REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 p 62

[Review by Doctor of Legal Sciences V. Chirkin of the book "Politicheskiye partii sovremennoy Afriki" [Political Parties of Modern Africa], published by the Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka," Moscow, 1984, 223 pages]

[Text] Over 50 states are located on the African Continent with diverse socio-political structures (from the imperialist South Africa to the underdeveloped countries of Central Africa). Here there are the most diverse political organizations, starting from parties reflecting interests of tribal aristocracy to Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class. In essence, a number of African countries are a sort of political testing range, where the ruling classes and social strata which still do not yet have the skills of manipulating the political behavior of the masses are testing out new party structures and often very unique methods of party activities. In line with this, the reviewed book, the results of 15 year's work by a research collective numbering over 50 persons, is of significant interest. It successfully brings together factual material and new theoretical conclusions with a sound (around one-third of the book's volume) theoretical part preceding information on the individual countries. Such an approach is not often encountered in reference publications and, in our view, merits complete approval.

In their theoretical concepts the authors of the reference rather completely consider the results of the existing research, including in related sectors of knowledge, in working out political and legal questions. Also successful are the brief biographical sketches about the leaders of all the ruling and certain other political parties as these have been written with great knowledge.

A classification of political parties in Africa is one of the fundamental aspects. The authors approach the solution to this problem with particular care and scientific conscientiousness. They correctly point out that as of now there is no generally accepted typology of political parties in the developing countries. In this context the question comes up of the main, fundamental principle in classifying the political parties.

The reference provides the following basic typology of parties: communists, vanguard parties of the workers, revolutionary-democratic parties of various

classes, national-democratic, bourgeois (bourgeois-nationalistic) and pro-bourgeois parties (pp 4, 11). Such a classification has justification, although here the principle of separation is not traced with sufficient clarity. Certainly the main distinctions of the parties are determined by the class structure of society and in this context a distinction is made between the following types of parties: worker, peasant, bourgeois and landowner. In truth, the authors of the collection mention the parties of the tribal aristocracy, but consider them as among the non-basic ones, lumping them together with organizations of the rightist and leftist extremist stripe, the clerical parties and so forth. The classification does not provide room for the social democratic parties and they, although as a special variety, are found in Africa. A single type of parties--the revolutionary-democratic--have been split into a number of groups and from this the national-democratic parties and vanguard revolutionary-democratic parties of the workers have for some reason been excluded.

The book as a whole successfully describes the social policy of the revolutionary-democratic parties and the views of the revolutionary democrats have been well described on the essence of the vanguard party. The basic trends in the development of these parties have been examined. However, the classification itself which has been adopted by the authors is debatable. In the work the national-democratic parties, the revolutionary-democratic parties of the front type and the vanguard parties as well as the vanguard parties of the workers are viewed as individual varieties. Thus, in the notion of the authors, the national democratic parties are still not revolutionary democratic ones (they have still not reached this stage) while the vanguard worker parties are not yet revolutionary-democratic ones (they have grown past this stage and comprise a separate variety of parties). In my opinion, neither the first nor the second assumption is indisputable and requires clarification. The experience of the national democratic parties in the past (for example, in Ghana and Guinea) shows the presence of revolutionary aspects in their policy. The same applies to the ruling parties of Tanzania, Sao Tome and Principe, the Seychelles Islands and certain other countries.

The vanguard worker parties, in our view, are also a variety of the revolutionary-democratic parties, although having achieved a higher stage of development. A hurried rushing forward in classifications is scarcely justified. The assertion that Marxism-Leninism has already become their ideology (p 11) is wrong and they are still just mastering these teachings. In the ideology of the revolutionary-democratic parties (vanguard also, although to a lesser degree), various ideological views are combined including Utopian socialism and bourgeois-liberal teachings. These questions have already been examined in the literature.

The section on the bourgeois and pro-bourgeois parties is one of the most successful in the work. Full consideration has been given to modern research (for example, on the separate variety of a capitalist oriented state, on the ruling pro-bourgeois autocracy), diverse and substantial factual material has been assembled and sound political-legal analysis of their [the parties'] activities has been made. Of interest is the dividing of parties proposed by the authors into conservative and reformist.

The book contains a special section which reflects the most important changes in the party systems occurring recently. This information has been very well done and contains valuable factual material.

The above-stated critical comments do not reduce the importance of the given reference. The scientific community has gained a fundamental work which for a long time will serve as an aid in the work of scientists, students and propagandists.

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10272

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BOOK ON IMPERIALISM'S NEOCOLONIAL STRATEGY REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 3, Mar 85 pp 62-63

[Review by Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Karymov of the book "Neokolonializm: sotsial'no-politicheskiye tseli i metody ekspansii" ["Neocolonialism: Sociopolitical Goals and Methods of Expansion"] by A. M. Baychorov, Belarus', Minsk, 1984, 174 pages]

[Text] The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and the gaining of political sovereignty by the suppressed Asian, African and Latin American peoples have not led to the elimination of contradictions between the imperialist powers and the liberated countries. At present, a predominant majority of the political leaders in the developing world are aware that their states have become the victim of a new, even more refined and rapacious system of international exploitation which has gained the name of "neocolonialism."

The class essence of the neocolonialist policy, its specific features in comparison with "classic" colonialism and the basic areas and forms of neocolonialism--all these questions have been properly taken up in Marxist literature. The author of the reviewed monograph, we feel, has succeeded in bringing out one other aspect of research on the given problem. He, in the first place, analyzes the system of neocolonialism through the prism of its sociopolitical goals and, secondly, focuses chief attention on its least studied particular features which have appeared in the second half of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's.

Having shown the unbroken link in the evolution of colonialist ideology and policy with the basic stages in the general crisis of capitalism, the author examines in detail the modern "diffusionist" and "radical" theories for the development of the young states. The colonialist theories of the past, he feels, have not sunk into oblivion or disappeared without a trace. Their fundamental concepts have been incorporated in the modern notions of "interdependence," "alternative development" and so forth. Considering the developing specific circumstances, the practice of neocolonialism also draws upon the ideas of the "biological inferiority of non-whites and the concept of their cultural backwardness and the seeming democracy of 'interdependence'" (p 17).

The analysis conducted in the monograph on the relations developing on the international scene between the imperialist states, the multinational corporations, the international financial oligarchy and the liberated countries confirms that

neocolonialism does not come down to indirect, invisible forms of dependence but rather is capable rather widely of employing overt, direct forms of pressure and exploitation.

The growing expansion of neocolonialism in the information and cultural sphere is aimed not only at making the peoples of the liberated countries aware of the need for their spiritual dependence upon the centers of international capitalism, but also should facilitate the solving of problems in the area of the sociopolitical and economic strategy of neocolonialism. In this regard, the author rightly emphasizes the growing involvement of the multinational corporations [MNC] in increasing informational and cultural expansion.

The strategists of neocolonialism give great importance to forming the socio-class supports of imperialism in the young states. The middle strata are particularly exposed to intense indoctrination and at present a majority of the political leaders from the developing world come from this milieu. At the same time, opportunities are being sought out to influence the existing "ruling predominant groups" in the liberated countries in the aim of directing them along a domestic and foreign political course which would conform to the interests of the MNC and the imperialist powers as a whole. The monograph examines in detail the most recent methods employed by the neocolonialists for establishing control over the young states.

An analysis of the particular features in the evolution of neocolonialist strategy as these appeared in the second half of the 1970's and the start of the 1980's has made it possible for the author to conclude that "in the context of the overall politization of neocolonialism, the United States of America more and more frequently and actively is initiating a growing sociopolitical and military neocolonialist expansion. Here as a pretext the United States is demagogically employing a campaign of 'the struggle for human rights,' 'the fight against terrorism' and so forth" (p 166).

Of course, not all the questions raised by the author have received a uniformly complete and profound study. In particular, the campaign against "international terrorism" merits a more detailed Marxist analysis as this has been widely employed in the 1980's by the neocolonialist forces for achieving their own political aims in the zone of the national liberation movement. However, as a whole the timely work of A. Baychorov is a serious contribution to studying one of the least studied aspects of neocolonialist activity, the sociopolitical, which is an important component part of the neocolonialist strategy of imperialism.

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10272
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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

HELMS AMENDMENT ON U.S. RATIFICATION OF ANTI-GENOCIDE CONVENTION HIT

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jun 85 p 4

[Article by I. Lebedev under the rubric "Pertinent Remarks": "The Capitol and the Convention"]

[Text] The Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Congress recently voted in favor of Senate ratification of the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This important UN document has been signed by 96 nations, including many of Washington's allies. And only in the U.S. Congress on Capitol Hill, where they so frequently like to discuss "human rights" and "human values," has there been a stubborn resistance to joining this convention that has lasted for decades.

The obstacles in this matter have been set up by all-powerful reactionary groups that have established themselves in the Washington "corridors of power." One of the opponents of ratification is the arch-reactionary Heritage Foundation. For example, its consultant--a certain M. (Huber)--has gone so far as to speak with heated indignation of the ratification's "unconstitutionality," inasmuch as a ban on instigating genocide might prove to be no more nor less than... "a violation of freedom of speech according to the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (?!)."

There is no lack of such "consultants" with distorted imaginations inside the Capitol as well. They even state that the convention might pose a threat to U.S. sovereignty. However the reasons for the truly marathon filibustering about the important UN document lie deeper, concealed in Washington's very course of action in the international arena.

In practice, genocide has long been one of the component parts of the American authorities' political policy both inside the country and beyond its borders. This is clear from the history of how the New World was opened up by the first immigrants, from the story of their interrelations with the natives of the continent, the American Indians, who were ruthlessly exterminated and today are doomed to a slow extinction in remote reservations. And contemporary American reality testifies to this.

Progressive Americans considered the armed violence in Philadelphia, where authorities attacked Negroes, an act of genocide by the American government

against its own people. The newspaper NEWSDAY compared the actions of the Philadelphia police with the bloody crimes of the American militarists in Viet Nam. And not without reason: dropping bombs on a home was like the criminal actions widely practiced in Indochina. And not only there. American soldiers have left a bloody trail in Korea, Lebanon and Grenada. Washington protects in every way possible Israeli aggressors who regularly carry out punitive actions against Arab inhabitants of occupied territories. The dictatorial regimes of Latin America, and the Pretoria regime--which commits genocide against the black population of the Republic of South Africa--enjoy special favor with the U.S. administration.

All of this has evoked angry protests from Americans and from the international community. Under such circumstances, it was considered imperative in the United States somehow to renovate the delapidated billboard facade of American "democracy" and, finally, to give attention to the UN convention... 47 years [sic--should be 37 years] after it was concluded.

It is true that last year, as the WASHINGTON POST newspaper put it, "the senate just did not get around to ratifying it."

But what about this year? As they say, time will tell. For now, the senate committee, which has approved ratification, has attached such "reservations" to its recommendation that for the United States the convention will in fact, as in the past, have no power. Thus the amendment of reactionary Senator Jesse Helms alone, as the UPI PRESS AGENCY has noted, "seriously limits" the jurisdiction of the World Court in The Hague, which is responsible for seeing that the convention is observed, "if some countries accused the United States of mass killing." In accordance with another reservation, the United States would have to give its "express consent" if it were summoned to the World Court. In case such "consent" were not forthcoming, the World Court "would have no right" to institute proceedings against Washington.

What is this if not a mockery of legal standards generally accepted throughout the world! "The Helms amendment essentially deprives the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of any kind of meaning," stated Senator Allan Cranston. However we can hardly hope for any other attitude towards the document from those who conduct political policy of state terrorism.

12962

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WESTERN EUROPE

DENMARK SAID TO SUPPLY URANIUM FOR U.S. NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Riga SOVETSKAY LATVIYA in Russian 20 Jun 85 p 3

[Article by NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY'S own correspondent A. Polyukhov,
Copenhagen: "Danish Uranium and American Bombs"]

[Text] The Risø Atomic Research Center is located on the sloping banks of the Roskilde Fjord. The dome of the only atomic reactor in Denmark stands out among the laboratory's low buildings. It is here that the country's scientists conduct applied research work on the peaceful use of radioactive isotopes. For Denmark, which has officially declared its non-nuclear status, such specialization is quite natural.

But recently Risø's reputation has been seriously shaken. According to information leaked to local political groups from the United States, it turns out that the radioactive materials used in the Danish center are ending up as "waste nuclear fuel" in American reactors where they are converted to filling for atomic bombs. From a report of the General Accounting Office of the United States, it appears that the uranium from Risø has for many years been going to the American National Nuclear Laboratory at Oak Ridge, which supposedly serves peaceful purposes, where the materials are separated into enriched uranium and highly radioactive waste. But in fact the raw materials are clandestinely sent on to secret military reactors in the Savannah River complex, where the uranium is reprocessed and converted into plutonium and tritium. Both these isotopes are destined for the production of nuclear warheads of various kinds, which go into the makeup of the rockets, bombs and shells that are bought up in enormous quantities by the Pentagon.

Information about the misuse of the Danish uranium in the United States has been confirmed by the authoritative American scientific journal NUCLEONICS WEEK, which indicates that a minimum of 32.3 kg of uranium from Risø wound up in Pentagon arsenals in 1983. The journal stresses that 120 nations signed the 1968 Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Although the treaty bans non-nuclear countries from transferring radioactive materials from non-military reactors to be used for military purposes, the Danish uranium operation shows the hypocrisy of the American authorities. All the more so since waste atomic fuel sent to the United States from Austria, Belgium, Switzerland and Japan is used in the same way.

The secret intrigues with the fissionable material from Risø have evoked an energetic reaction in Denmark. Folketing Member P. (Foigt) has demanded that the Danish energy minister put a stop to the abuse, which has been continuing for 20 years and which contradicts Denmark's non-nuclear policy. This appeal was immediately supported by other deputies and also by the country's popular "Information on Atomic Energy" organization.

"Denmark cannot adhere to the policy of rejecting nuclear arms and at the same time facilitate their production," declared Parliament Member (Yutte Khilden). "Our position in principle is to find a solution to the problem of storing waste nuclear fuel."

The Danes' indignation is especially understandable, if one recalls that protest against the aggressive strategy of U.S. and NATO authorities, which goes against Denmark's national interests, has been growing in the country in recent years. The majority of the country's population and Folketing deputies have come out in favor of the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe, a freeze on atomic arsenals and disarmament.

12962

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WESTERN EUROPE

MINISTER SEES POSSIBILITY FOR MORE TRADE WITH USSR

PM250707 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 24 Jul 85 p 3

[Interview with A. Haugstvedt, Norwegian minister of commerce and shipping, by own correspondent, Ye Troitskiy: "Expanding Business Ties"--first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Oslo--A routine session of the Intergovernmental Soviet-Norwegian Commission on Economic, Industrial, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation was held recently in Moscow. Our own correspondent met Asbjorn Haugstvedt, Norwegian minister of commerce and shipping, in Oslo and asked him to answer a few questions.

[Troitskiy] How do you appraise the state of trade and economic relations between the USSR and Norway, Mr Minister?

[Haugstvedt] To be frank, I am not at all satisfied with the way our bilateral trade is developing. Norwegian exports to the USSR decreased considerably in 1984, and this year so far the same tendency is being observed. Although imports from the USSR increased, this was mainly on the basis of the delivery to Norway of traditional goods. There is a real need to diversify trade and exchange and supplement it with new goods. I believe, for example, that the Soviet Union has good opportunities to increase the sale to Norway of processing industry products.

The Norwegian Government supports the intention of the Kongsberg State Trading Company and the Norwegian Fellesbanken Bank to open their own offices in Moscow soon.

[Troitskiy] Are you satisfied with the results of the talks in Moscow and with the directions in the development of trade and economic relations approved at the latest commission session?

[Haugstvedt] The Moscow talks were frank and constructive and broached specific questions and projects. I would highlight the talks now under way on the construction in the Soviet Union of a factory to produce window units by the Norwegian "Blok-Watne" Company. The conclusion of such a contract would open up an opportunity for further cooperation in this sphere.

Norwegian industry's interest was confirmed in deliveries to the USSR of equipment and services to develop oil and gas deposits in the Barents Sea. It was noted that an important role here belongs to the "Bloconor" consortium, which includes seven leading Norwegian companies with considerable experience in opening up gas and oil deposits on the continental shelf. We believe that the discussion of proposals on participation by Norwegian companies and firms in developing the natural resources of the Kola Peninsula was also of great benefit. The Norwegian side is also interested in deliveries to the USSR of shipping and fishing equipment and technology and equipment used in the development of aquiculture. There are also several opportunities for expanding trade in computer equipment and cooperating on questions of hydroelectric power.

The Soviet side showed interest in the questions we raised and I hope that the upcoming talks between Norwegian companies and Soviet organizations will produce specific results.

[Troitskiy] What, in your opinion, is the influence of economic ties between countries on the climate of international relations?

[Haugstvedt] East-West relations depend on several factors. And I think--and I expect people will agree with me if I say so--that mutually advantageous trade between states with different sociopolitical systems has a profound and positive influence on the whole character of international relations. Lack of contact often leads to loss of trust. For this reason we favor expanding economic relations with the Soviet Union. If it proved possible to achieve specific results in bilateral trade, I think that then the way would undoubtedly be opened for a considerable expansion of economic ties between our neighboring countries.

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CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

INTERNAL, EXTERNAL SOURCES OF VIETNAM'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS SEEN

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 27, 3 Jul 85 p 14

[Article from Hanoi and Haiphong by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent Sergey Merinov: "Vietnam Begins Here"]

[text] Hanoi's Victoria Hotel, built according to the design and with the help of Cubans, and with which an acquaintance with Vietnam begins for many foreigners, stands right at the edge of a lake, one of the countless shallow lakes of Hanoi that give the city a unique appearance. In the morning, from the balcony, I saw the hotel's neighbors--inhabitants of a quite small house nestled on the shore. There was barely a meter and a half from the threshold to the water's edge. Beside the house were chicken coops, on the water ducks and a floating kitchen garden, and immediately alongside--the next house.

Population density in the capital is especially noticeable when the Hanoians get on their bicycles--the predominant kind of city transportation. In the endless streams of Vietnamese, Soviet, French, Japanese and other kinds of bicycles, an automobile seems a mistake. The driver signals continuously, displays miracles of reaction, and only from time to time, with amazing calmness, says--does not yell--through the window to an ordinary bicyclist who has just created a super-emergency situation: "Are you tired of living?"

Hanoi is a little under a thousand years old. In these reaches of the Red River's vast valley, the Vietnamese Nation, its State [governing] system, and its agricultural, political and spiritual cultures took shape.

Hanoi probably is the most Vietnamese of Vietnam's cities. It is replete with history, traditions, national spirit, and that special fountainhead of determination that enabled Vietnam to withstand and triumph in the most trying fight against American aggression. Now resolutions are being adopted here that should lead the country along the path of social and economic progress.

Such resolutions, backed by realistic actions, are very necessary. Vietnam's economic condition remains very confused. For decades, its economy developed under bombs, warped and oppressive colonialism and war imposed from without. The country experiences critical shortages in literally everything, starting with energy, raw materials and machinery, and ending with food and consumer goods. Both agriculture and industry are struggling to find the way to stable development. All is not going well yet, by any means, in production and distribution. Inflation is developing because of the shortage of most commodities. Rationed allocation remains the primary method of supplying laborers, office workers and the military.

The criticalness of appraisal, too, is appropriate to the criticalness of the situation. The weakness of the material and technical base, the low labor productivity and quality, the weakening of socialism's position in a number of sectors, the absence of proper order, due to which the economy and society are made nervous, and the low operating effectiveness of the State apparatus are noted in party documents.

To see the problems, speak frankly about them and seek optimum solutions--such is the position of Vietnamese communists, the only position capable of maintaining strong party authority in the present difficult period; when socialism is experiencing an onslaught by petty-bourgeois elements, when huge amounts of money are piling up in the hands of private merchants, resale dealers and speculators while a great many people lack the very necessities, and when the enemy can be overcome only by an adjusted economic policy and management ability. Hanoi--the brain of the nation, the focus of its political, cultural and revolutionary traditions--is busy even now developing such a policy and such ability.

There is a proverb in the East: "Gallop on a horse and admire the flowers." The Vietnamese comrades kidded me: "Ten days for all of Vietnam--that's the kind of admiring flowers at full gallop in which you won't see anything clearly." However, the hosts themselves did everything to show me the maximum possible during a minimum of time. A day was allotted to Haiphong.

The highway leading to Haiphong is cut snugly into the rice fields: dry fields, fields flooded with water, emerald squares of rice seedlings, buffaloes, humpbacked cows of unfamiliar appearance, peasants (and usually female) ankle-deep, knee-deep and waist-deep in the water. If, on the average in Vietnam, there is 0.1 hectare of arable land per capita of population, then here, in the region of the most ancient Vietnamese farming, there probably is less than that. Rice is an extremely intricate crop, requiring the heavy daily operation of tractors, pumps and other equipment not visible from the road though it is known that the equipment exists in these localities and that it gradually is becoming more plentiful. Supplying the rural areas abundantly with machinery is a long and costly process. At present, wise economic reforms are having a more noticeable effect on the growth of productivity and commodity production output. They told me that, in Haiphong cooperatives, the rice yield had been raised by more than 20 percent when peasants were permitted to sell the produce obtained above assignments on the open market. To generate initiative and enterprise, turn them in the proper direction and ensure control over their social and economic consequences--This is one of the most important and difficult tasks.

If, in Vietnam, there were the title "Hero City", Haiphong should rightly become the first of them. In the most trying time of the fight against American aggression, Haiphong and Haiphongians [its citizens] served the country faithfully and truly. The port was operating, and so military equipment and ammunition, industrial equipment and medicines, raw material and food came in. For the Americans, Haiphong was like a thorn in the side. They bombed it long and cruelly, destroyed living quarters and plants, killed many thousands of residents, shattered port facilities and mined the mouth of the Kam River--the outlet to the sea. But Haiphong lived, worked and sustained the country with all the necessities.

Lin, a worker of the city soviet's department of external relations, showed us the city and port. She studied in Dnepropetrovsk, and speaks Russian fairly well.

"There will be a new port here. The old one already is unable to handle the workload," Lin explained. We drove along a levee in a scorching hot Inturist [Main Administration for Foreign Tourism] Volga automobile. There was water all around. "It's a long way to the sea. Look, there's a ship on the ocean. And this water on the left is shrimp plantations, on the right--rice. There, ahead, where the shrubs are, also will be rice. This is a special shrub. They plant it for two or three years in order to enrich the soil. Afterwards they cut it down, and then rice can be planted. And, in addition, it is planned to create an international tourist complex here."

After this brief sally into the zone of future extensive construction, we set out to pay a visit to the Haiphong branch of the Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship Society. They treated us to puckery-sour green tea, told us unhurriedly about their work and Haiphong's problems, and reminisced about the war years and the terrible 1972 bombings.

I couldn't hold back, and told our comrades that it had disturbed me an hour ago, when we strolled around the Haiphong market. The market is abundantly stocked: from rice, meat, vegetables and fruits to all kinds of haberdashery, clothing, shoes and spare parts for Japanese motorcycles. The goods are of Vietnamese manufacture, both industrial and hand-crafted, imported, and partly even contraband. And a blue denim jacket, with the large, bright letters "U. S. ARMY" sewed on it on one side of the breast, upset me. We walked a little farther, and saw clusters of various running shoes hung on a string, and the vendor, having noticed a foreigner, began to extoll the merchandise with three English words: "America--number one!"

"You say this disturbed you. Others find harsher words. This disturbs us personally, too, outrages us, and America--'first class' and 'U. S. Army' drive us wild.... The point is not at all that we have begun to forget about the American aggressors' crimes. And it is not that Haiphong is an international port and more strongly subject to undesirable influences from abroad. 'U. S. Army' on the blue denim jacket--this is one of the manifestations of the market, the onslaught of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois elements. This problem is not to be solved just by administrative and educational measures. 'U. S. Army' on a jacket is, if you will, a more dangerous adversary, in a certain sense, than the U. S. Army, which we warred against and overcame. War is the most cruel, but not the most difficult business. It is considerably more difficult to score a victory in peacetime on economic and political fronts, where hostile class forces, economic backwardness, and our very own mistakes, disorganization and incompetence in work resist us."

All the Vietnamese I met, whether writers, journalists or party workers, were more inclined to stress their problems than conceal them. This is a very valuable trait if one bears in mind that there are plenty of problems. At

the same time, the Vietnamese are full of optimism: In recent years, certain successes have been achieved and reassuring results have appeared in basic sectors of the economy, first of all in agriculture--even despite the terrible losses due to last year's natural disaster.

Doubtless, the successes would have been even more meaningful if Vietnam had not found itself drawn into the complicated political games that influential international powers, the United States and China first and foremost, play in Southeast Asia. For Vietnam, this involvement means, first, instability on its northern border, second, the need to keep a troop contingent in Cambodia and, finally, an unsettled state of relations with many countries of the world, including those with member nations of the ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations]. There is no need to prove how all of this impedes Vietnam's development and how many material and human resources go into the defense both of its own country and fraternal Cambodia; how the rate of economic development is slowed because of the continuing attempts to isolate Vietnam and sever its world ties, representing it as an "aggressor" that has taken over defenseless Cambodia. They are trying to conceal from public opinion in the Western and many Developing Countries the genuine reason for which the Vietnamese found themselves in Cambodia and now are required to maintain their military presence there.

This reason is Pol Pot and the Pol-Potites. First they usurped power. Then they created a monstrous, repressive machine and started to annihilate the Cambodian people. Then they committed aggression against Vietnam, at that time barely having succeeded in driving out the Americans. Finally, when the crimes of the Pol-Potites became unbearable, Cambodian patriots and the Vietnamese, by joint efforts, threw them out of Cambodia.

But unfortunately, and to the people's shame, Pol Pot and the Pol-Potites are alive and acting even now. Their bands, armed by the Americans and Chinese, are trained and malicious. They are represented as "patriots", and have been included in the "coalition government" headed by Prince Sihanouk.

Along the road from Haiphong to Hanoi, we became acquainted with a young fellow, about 20 years old, named Tuan. He had just--not a month before--returned from Cambodia, and had not yet been given a job (They call such as him "awaiting work"). He had served for two years in Cambodia.

[Merinov] In the West, they write that among the Cambodians a hostile attitude toward the Vietnamese has been formed historically....

[Tuan] Nonsense. They get along well with the Vietnamese. Only in the regions bordering on Thailand, in the jungles, are there actually tribes with unfriendly attitudes, and even that is due to the Pol Pot propaganda: "A Vietnamese is an enemy!"

[Merinov] What is the people's attitude toward the Pol-Potites?

[Tuan] They hate them. And they fear them. And I, in general, understand them. They are not cowards. They are ordinary, very peaceful people. They cannot forget the terrible brutalities of the Pol-Potites.

[Merinov] What do they say about Sihanouk?

[Tuan] Oh, many have a fairly good attitude toward him, you know. More correctly, not toward him, but toward the time when he ruled, when there were no American bombings, no Lon Nol and no Pol Pot. You live through that nightmare, lose your relatives, killed with hoes, and for you, too, Sihanouk's times probably will be remembered as heaven on earth. And Sihanouk was not branded later on with the crimes against the people. His own family suffered at the hands of the the Pol-Potites. They killed his children and grandchildren....

[Merinov] But now he collaborates with the Pol-Potites and shelters them....

[Tuan] They have a sham coalition. We know how they squabble among themselves. Sihanouk--He's the cover, the mask. They depend on Pol Pot, and only on him.

Tuan, the former soldier and future motor-vehicle driver (He has such an intention), understands this, and everyone in Phnom Penh and Hanoi understands this. They have a united, clear-cut and firm position: No settlement of issues connected with Cambodia is possible so long as Pol-Potites have a claim to participation in such settlement. They are outlaws. Their sponsors need, at last, to understand this, and seek other, wiser and more honorable ways, insofar as possible, for asserting their authority in Indochina. Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia already have proved that they do not wish to be, and will not be, a "zone of influence" for any power whatsoever. They do not accept dictates and attempts to "teach lessons" to them, but are ready to respond to any constructive proposals not infringing upon their sovereignty and dignity. This is applicable even to the "Cambodian Problem"; although such a problem does not, in fact, exist, and there is only the problem of the Pol-Potites' liquidation: military, political and moral liquidation.

...We returned to Hanoi late, through the clammy darkness of a southern winter evening. The Volga broke the darkness with horn and headlights, and, on the roadsides, the kerosene lamps of street vendors sparkled like fireflies. I left the big city reluctantly after one more day filled with work and concern. Hanoians, Haiphongians and all the Vietnamese took one more step forward that day--a step toward peace, prosperity and socialism.

12319

CSO: 1807/383

PRC ECONOMIC REFORMS SEEN LEADING TO 'NEGATIVE PHENOMENA'

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 21, 21 May 85 p 8

[Question by B. Gorelik, Kharkov, and answer by journalist and international specialist S. Agafonov]

[Text] Please tell me about implementation of the economic reform in China.

B. Gorelik, Kharkov

Journalist and international specialist S. Agafonov answers the question.

It will be no exaggeration to say that the dominant phenomenon in China's domestic life at the present time is the reform of the economic system, which touches on fundamental issues of the country's social and economic development. The beginning of the transformations was marked by resolutions of the 3d CCP Central Committee Plenum, 11th Convocation (1978), which defined directions of reform in the village. In October of last year the 3d CCP Central Committee Plenum, 12th Convocation, shifted emphasis in implementing the reform to the city. The essence of measures being taken consists of an attempt to use the development of commodity production and market relations based on multiple structures, economic incentives, private initiative and enterprise for accelerating economic development, the ultimate objective of which is to have China arrive at the present level of industrially developed countries by the end of the 20th century.

A turn to a private-ownership form of economic operation in the village, re-establishment of small private enterprises in the sphere of production and trade in the cities, attraction of foreign capital into the country, and a strengthening of the effect of market regulators on the economy became the basis of the reform being carried out in China. The facts show that the use of these forms of economic activity led to the appearance of a number of negative trends in the social and economic life of China of today.

At the recently ended regular session of the All-China Meeting of People's Representatives (VSNP) there was considerable emphasis, in statements by PRC leaders and deputies devoted to problems of national economic development and implementation of a reform of the economic system in China, on a discussion of

certain negative phenomena which appeared during the reform--the so-called "new vicious craze," the spread of which is causing serious concern in Beijing.

The report by PRC State Council Premier Zhao Ziyang at a session of the All-China Meeting of People's Representatives pointed to such phenomena as the arbitrary issue of bonuses and of in-kind and monetary markups, unwarranted inflation of prices in pursuit of high profit, the use of official position for reselling acutely scarce materials, bribery, and corruption. Zhao Ziyang noted "these unhealthy crazes not only discredit the reform and hamper its successful implementation, but also undermine the work of establishing a socialist moral and spiritual culture. We must resolutely stop these harmful crazes by taking economic, administrative and legal steps for this purpose."

It must be noted that notes of alarm concerning the appearance and spread of various kinds of abuses have noticeably stepped up of late in the Chinese press as well. As RENMIN RIBAO reports, last year investigations were made and judgements rendered on 22,000 cases involving "economic crimes." The newspaper wrote that "criminal activity in the economic area is becoming a strengthening trend and there is a growth in the number of major cases being investigated by control organs. Some criminals hide behind 'reforms' and 'economic revival,' they corner scarce commodities for the purpose of getting rich, they engage in speculation and fraud, they acquire and steal public property, and they engage in blackmail and extortion."

In early March the Chinese press published a document of the CCP Central Commission for a Check of Discipline, which pointed out "serious violations of party and state discipline, laws and directives of the CCP Central Committee and the PRC State Council." The document stated that "there is a current practice where directives which are received are not fulfilled and prohibitions are not observed. If that state of affairs is preserved, it inevitably will lead to anarchy and the undermining of party and state policy. The harmful craze not only undermines the authority of the reforms, but also may lead to decay of the party itself."

In addition to this sort of statement, the Chinese press and statements by the country's leaders lately have been placing noticeable emphasis on the need for stricter monitoring of progress of the reforms, a strengthening of management of the economy, establishment of a complex of management systems and methods, and regulation of the rates of transformations being carried out. In his report at a session of the All-China Meeting of People's Representatives, Zhao Ziyang sounded a call "to adhere to a course toward a realistic approach to the matter and moderate advancement, and to resolutely stop the blind pursuit of growth rates and rivalry in this." The PRC State Council premier noted that "we continue to follow the principle of giving room and freedom of action in microspheres and keeping a firm hold and managing in the macrospheres. All the most important guidelines and measures connected with the reform must be developed and planned on a uniform basis by the center. . . . No one is allowed to exceed his authority and act on his own sweet will, thus infringing on state interests."

It is thus a question of a need to resolve contradictions between decentralization of management of the economy and use of market elements in economic operation on the one hand, and the desire not to allow a weakening of control over national political and economic life on the other hand. It follows from materials of the session of the All-China Meeting of People's Representatives that one of the sources of the aforementioned negative phenomena lies specifically in this contradiction. At the same time, the appearance of these phenomena is the result of ambiguity and contradictoriness in guidelines of the reform itself and of the propaganda accompanying it. The slogan "Enrich yourself," calls for "prosperity," and propaganda of personal success specifically engender the pursuit of profit and a thirst for getting rich.

Emphasis on a strengthening of economic management measures, adoption of a number of restrictions in credit and finance policy, and an increase in severity of punishments for "economic crimes" are the means specified by the session of the All-Chinese Meeting of People's Representatives for fighting the "vicious craze" in order to regulate conduct of the reform and normalize the atmosphere in the country. Time will tell how effective the use of these means will be.

6904

CSO: 1807/350

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

ZIONIST CONCEPT OF 'DUAL LOYALTY' CRITICIZED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 23, 4 Jun 85 p 8

[Question by N. Khlebnikov, Omsk, and reply by Candidate of Juridical Sciences L. Dadiani]

[Text] What does the Zionist slogan of "dual loyalty" conceal and what objectives does it pursue?

N. Khlebnikov, Omsk

Candidate of Juridical Sciences L. Dadiani responds to this question.

It is common knowledge that the Zionists' plans to assemble the majority of Jews of all countries "around Zion" has in fact come to grief. Only some 25 percent of the entire world's Jews now are living in Israel. In recent years more Jews are leaving the "promised land" than are arriving there, and this is one of the manifestations of the crisis in Zionist ideology and in the political course of Israel's rulers. The fact is that the Jews of various countries do not wish to be "cannon fodder" and a cheap labor force in the present Israeli "garrison state" any longer.

Under these conditions Zionist leaders and Zionist propaganda centers are being more and more active in advancing the slogan of "Israel's central place in the life of world Jewry" and of "dual loyalty" (or "dual citizenship") of Jews, which contradicts the principles of international law. D. Ben-Gurion, the first Israeli prime minister, wrote cynically that "this means giving help to Israel regardless of whether or not the government of the country to which resident Jews are subordinate desires this..."

The "dual loyalty" slogan, intended to transform the Jewish population of various countries into something in the nature of a "fifth column" of Zionism, is refuted not only by communists, but also by broad layers of the Jewish population of all states. "My position, like the position of my father, is hostile to Zionism," emphasizes M. Robinson, a prominent French orientalist. "In other words, we never wished and do not wish to be citizens of some purely Jewish state. I am French and my culture is French. . . . The French people are the only people to whom I belong and to whom I have allegiance."

Even some Zionists are forced to admit that many Jews reject the slogan of "dual loyalty." W. Gordon, leader of the youth department of the World Zionist Organization (VSO), already spoke several years ago about the "crisis in relationships among Jews of the entire world and of Israel," and he complained that "there is a serious withdrawal taking place from Israel and from Zionism by representatives of the young generation of Jews in western countries."

At the same time, a portion of the Jewish population in many countries of capital have taken the bait of "dual loyalty" and essentially share this fallacious and illegal concept.

The Zionists and their protectors bend over backwards to see that such groups also exist in socialist states, including ours. But despite their efforts, the USSR's Jewish population, with the exception of small groups of renegades and persons who have lost their proper bearings, is outside the sphere of any kind of influence of Zionism, it resolutely refutes and condemns Zionist ideology and politics, and sharply criticizes Israel's political course.

"Love for the land where you were born and grew up is a natural feeling for every Soviet citizen, no matter what his nationality. We prize what Soviet power gave us and we don't need another Motherland," said N. I. Grinberg, student of the MGU [Moscow State University] mechanics and mathematics faculty, in her speech at the Moscow press conference of the Antizionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion.

In response to Zionists' statements, F. Fayman, a kolkhoz member from a far-eastern village, wrote in her open letter to the journal SOVETSKAYA ZHENSCHINA: "At our kolkhoz board sessions I see Jews, Russians, Ukrainians and representatives of other nationalities sitting next to me. They have different shapes of eyes and different characters, but they have no differences of opinion--political, social or moral--and they come to an excellent understanding about everything because they speak the same language, the language of brotherhood.

"You wish to embroil them and sow national dissension? Useless work. Useless and thankless!"

The people of our country have reliable immunity against the intrigues of Zionists and other antisoviets.

6904

CSO: 1801/350

RADIO KABUL DESCRIBED; COUNTERACTING WESTERN PROPAGANDA STRESSED

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 6, Jun 85 pp 61-62

[Article by Yuriy Grobovnikov: "The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan: Bazaar Rumors and the Voice of Truth"]

[Text] The oriental bazaar is a colorful, bright and springlike place. The merchants invite you to treat yourself to the season's first cherries and apricots, to green plums and radishes. Sellers of nuts and raisins, and next to them, respectable sellers of mutton, urge you to buy. The cut-up carcasses hang on hooks right on the street: you can come up and choose any piece you want. And you can even buy a live sheep, if you have some kind of family celebration. They also trade here in flour, rice and spices. Next to the inn, you will always find a teahouse; they have pot-bellied large-capacity samovars, and multicolored Asian cups and teapots. Green tea and flat cakes are the Afghans' traditional breakfast. Here at the teahouse you may encounter a merchant in robe and turban, a soldier on furlough, a worker or a peasant. They sit, and unhurriedly sip their tea and exchange news.

It was from this very place, from the bazaar, that all rumors used to flow. And even today the echos of the capital's bazaar reach out not only to the nearby but also to the outlying villages in Kabul Province. Only now, they are based not so much on "news" brought to the capital by traders or by arriving travellers, as much as on the information provided by radio and TV broadcasts, and by press reports and pamphlets.

Radio Kabul broadcasts 18 hours per day. Programming begins with readings from the Koran, followed later by hourly news broadcasts, and programs for various audiences--for workers and peasants, for children and young people. The programs contain lots of music, poetry and songs.

Almost every family has an unpretentious and inexpensive transistor radio. There is no cable broadcasting in Afghanistan. And since the percentage of illiteracy in Afghanistan is still high, it is hard to overestimate the importance of the radio broadcasts. Proof of their effect on the listeners are the letters and phone calls to the editors at Radio Kabul--these helped give birth to the special "Voice of the People" broadcasts. The phone calls are recorded on tape; they are then provided to the parties to whom the listeners' questions are addressed. The answers are also recorded, and then it's all put on the air.

And that's the technology of preparing the radio broadcasts. It's very democratic, effective and efficient.

They report a lot of things to the editors: poor road conditions; interruptions in fuel supplies; problems in getting children into kindergarten; bureaucratic red tape at an institution; irregular bus service; and many, many other things. Even from this list of problems and questions one can judge that they trust the radio programs and that they listen to them.

Party workers and administrators of ministries and departments, prominent public and political figures, and representatives of various professions often appear on the radio. They explain in simple and easily-understood terms the policy of the PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) and the people's government, the goals and tasks of the April Revolution; and they describe the changes taking place in the city and in the countryside. Workers and peasants, soldiers and officers, are welcome as guests on the radio. There are broadcasts for all categories of listeners; there are continuous on-the-scene reports, and information on domestic and international life.

Exposing the imperialistic policy of the USA, the instigator and organizer of the undeclared war against popular Afghanistan, has an important position in Radio Kabul broadcasting. And this is logical--after all, of the hundreds of millions which go to arm the insurgents, significant funds are spent on waging psychological war on the airwaves. Powerful radio stations are operating around the clock against Afghanistan. Especially active in this area are such "voices" as "Nemetskaya Volna" [German Airwave], "Voice of America" and BBC. In these transmissions, anti-Sovietism alternates with praising the policy of the Washington administration which, if you can believe one of the radio commentators, is the "best friend" of all Moslem nations, Afghanistan included.

Carrying on anti-Soviet broadcasts, many of the radio voices are trying to convince their listeners of the fact that the Soviet Union is carrying out an aggressive policy; that it wishes to annex Afghanistan to itself and then break through to the "warm water"--the Persian Gulf. And these voices assert that Afghanistan is a training ground for testing chemical weapons (Soviet, of course). But the slanderers say nothing of the fact that chemical grenades of American manufacture have been discovered in the DRA.

Many conversations are held on the air about the necessity to establish a "legitimate"--that is, counterrevolutionary--regime in Afghanistan. The broadcasts describe the bandit-insurgents as none other than "fighters for the true faith."

The broadcasts constantly give false reports on clashes of soldiers of the "Kabul regime" with peaceful citizens, who are allegedly being killed by the hundreds, are being poisoned with gas, whose cattle and crops are being destroyed...

Here's an example from experience with a station in Pakistan. The broadcast is entitled, "A Visit with My Uncle." It is conducted in the form of a dialog between two friends who, just like the old women at the bazaar, gossip about this and that. In due course rumors, lies, fabrications and slander are introduced. And well, if you want to speak of the language, it is simply slang, right down to open cursewords and unprintable expressions. In its form, it is a traditional Oriental, unhurried conversation at the home of a kind and naive "dear little uncle." His interlocutor is a person who is better-informed in politics and more well-read; he reads the newspapers and listens to the radio. For the nearly-illiterate listeners, according to the plans of the program's producers, he should be an indisputable authority. One of them is called Lolo, the other Barkhudor. Here is an excerpt from the dialog:

"...And they say that the Mujahidin control 90 per cent of the territory of Afghanistan?"

"Today I read some recent figures in the press. It says there that the Mujahidin control 82 per cent of the territory, and that 106 administrative regions are 50-90 per cent under their control."

"The Mujahidin are lions. And a lion neither sleeps nor rests; he's always alert... I heard that they punished 11 people for bribe-taking and amoral behavior in Kabul."

"Where'd you hear that?"

"Oh that's what they're saying at the bazaar. I also heard that the new regime is planning to bomb Pakistan."

"And what could you expect from the present rulers, who are oppressing their own people? They have betrayed Islam and the entire country..."

These are examples of the hostile propaganda offered to listeners in Afghanistan. Unpardonable lies, intended for the illiterate, uneducated person, are beamed from Pakistan every day, for many hours.

Broadcasts by the BBC, "Voice of America" and "German Airwave" are frequently aimed at the better-educated listeners. They try to make their reports "well-reasoned." But the goal is one and the same--to sow doubt and uncertainty, to hide behind a half-truth the true significance of what is going on in the country. They often use the following method: a brief report, and a refutation or distortion in commentaries. Many materials contain efforts to smear the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union. Knowing how unpopular US policies are in many countries in the region, one will find in information from "German Airwave," for example, such expressions as "the aggressive policy of the USA." At the very same time, the activity of the Soviet Union, which is directed toward defending the independence of the DRA, and the introduction of the limited contingent of Soviet troops upon request of the Afghan government is also labeled as "aggression," or

"the seizure of Afghanistan." And this is far from coincidental. They are trying to impose on their listeners the thought that there is, allegedly, no difference between the policies of the USA and the USSR with respect to the countries of the region.

This frenzied hostile radio propaganda is being resisted by the mass information media of the DRA. The principal medium is radio; radio programs are heard in practically all the country's populated areas. Radio broadcasts are prepared both in the basic languages--Pushtu and Dari, and in the languages of the national minorities--Baluchi, Pashani, Nuristani, and in the Turkmen and Uzbek dialects. There are also radio broadcasts for listeners abroad; these are conducted in certain European and eastern languages. Based on the letters arriving in response to these broadcasts, the programs of Radio DRA are heard in many countries of the world. The listeners thank the workers in foreign broadcasting for telling them the truth about events in the country, and for the opportunity to become acquainted with the ancient culture of the peoples of Afghanistan.

Television broadcasting is becoming more and more important.

Today Kabul TV can be seen in the capital and its environs, and TV programs are being beamed by satellite to a number of provinces in the country. Daily broadcast volume is nearly five hours. Both color and black-and-white reports appear on the screen from the provinces of the DRA: programs dedicated to workers, to soldiers and to young people; and international programs. A significant portion of the air time is devoted to programs for children, to music and entertainment broadcasts. Motion pictures are aired four times a week, among which are the best films of Soviet film-makers.

The DRA's radio and TV are being developed and equipped with modern technology. Even now television is taking part in news exchanges under the auspices of Intervideo. Construction of a new radio studio and a TV equipment-studio complex will begin soon. Reconstruction and technical reequipping of the radio studios is being completed with the help of specialists from the GDR and USSR.

Another day is drawing to a close in Kabul. Deep shadows of the southern twilight lie on its streets and squares, and a bluish haze is hanging over the braziers, where they are preparing shashlik and kebabs. The bazaar is becoming quiet, but there are still a lot of people in the teahouse. The people of Kabul are sitting on the platform near the entrance, drinking green tea. The conversation flows unhurriedly. What is it about? About views on the harvest, prices at the bazaar; about the son who has completed military service and has come home; about their children, studying in the nearby school; and about the latest news broadcast on the local radio station; about their hopes for a peaceful, happy life.

Yuriy Sergeyevich Grobovnikov was born in 1935. He is a graduate of the Moscow Institute of Historical Archives and the Higher Party School of the CPSU Central Committee. He has served with USSR state television and radio since 1961; he was an editor at the Main Editorial Department for "Latest News"; was a department chief at the Main Editorial Department for Radio Broadcasting for Young People; and was deputy chief editor at the Main Editorial Department for Film Programs. Since 1978 he has been working in Afghanistan as an advisor at the State Committee for Radio Broadcasting, Television and Cinematography. At present, he is chief editor at the Main Editorial Department for Film Programs at Central Television.

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9006

CSO: 1807/394

AFGHAN TEACHERS VISIT UZBEKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OQITUVCHILAR GAZETASI in Uzbek 20 February 1985 carries on page 1 a 150 word article by an OQITUVCHILAR GAZETASI correspondent titled "To Friends to Study Experience." The article tells about the visit of a "large delegation" of teachers from Afghanistan to Tashkent. The main reason for the visit is to study the experience in education. The delegation included teachers of upper and lower grades, as well as inspectors of the Afghan Ministry of People's Education. The delegation was received at the UzSSR Ministry of People's Education where it was welcomed by Deputy Minister of Education N. R. Rahmonov. The delegation visited a number of schools and preschool education institutions.

CSO: 1837/447

AFRICA INDEPENDENCE DAY TIME TO VIEW CONTINENT'S STATUS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 85 p 5

[Article by V. Kudryavtsev: "Through the Barriers Towards the Goal"]

[Text] The peoples of this continent are observing their holiday -- Africa Independence Day, established by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) 22 years ago, under very, very difficult conditions. These are mainly economic difficulties. The Western press has frequently called this situation a "crisis." The Africans themselves, who have more justification for doing so, give another definition to the situation: Growth pains.

Yes, independent Africa is young, it is developing, and its still fully undeveloped body has been exposed to various "infections." Africa has been devastated by an unprecedented drought which in a few regions like Seychelles, for example, has lasted for several years in a row. Consequences of the drought include a famine which encompasses a territory inhabited by about 150 million persons, a drop in agricultural production, and an inevitable growth in debts owed to Western monopolists.

The famine comes on top of an already backward economy in Africa whose indicators confirm the former colonies' burning need to win their economic independence. One has only to recall that during the creation of the OAU, the forum's participants adopted a resolution on economic problems in which it was emphasized that socioeconomic progress in Africa is a "guarantee of the solidarity and independence of the African states."

What can one say about the economic situation in Africa? According to FAO data, per capita food production on the continent from 1970 to 1980 fell by 15 percent, but consumption decreased by 10 percent. The former General Secretary of the OAU Kodjo Edem has indicated that the growth rate of industrial production in 1979-1980 was one-half of what it was at the beginning of the '70s. In exporting primarily raw materials and importing finished products, the African countries are suffering, as before, from a

"price discrepancy." Their total trade deficit in 1981 was 14 billion dollars, and their total foreign indebtedness in 1983 was about 150 billion dollars.

It is thus obvious that effective measures to improve the economic situation of the African countries are essential. The Africans themselves look to the future optimistically. However, imperialist propaganda, and particularly American propaganda, has been injecting an atmosphere of interminable crisis around the economic situation in Africa which it has labeled practically hopeless if Africa does not heed "friendly advice." And that advice is always the same. While ignoring the burdensome heritage left to the African nations by the colonialists, the Western "well-wishers" place all the blame for Africa's troubles on the socialist orientation which several African countries chose after winning national independence. Along with this, private enterprise is forever being praised. Simply put, this means the subordination of the African countries' economies to trans-national corporations and their development along capitalist lines. At the same time, Africa is being persistently coaxed into following a pro-American (to be read: anti-Soviet) course in its foreign policy orientation.

Not so long ago a number of African states was visited by the Vice-President of the USA G. Bush. He demonstrated better than anyone what it is that the ruling circles of Washington have in mind by aid to Africa. The American guest constantly extolled the advantages of private enterprise and cynically proposed a deal to the African leaders: The USA will give millions of dollars to those African countries who reject economic systems based on the state sector and who go over to encouraging private enterprise. Typical American money-bags profiteering from the difficulties of other nations!

But G. Bush and his colleagues who are engaged in the exploitation of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, have lost sight of one "small item" -- the presence of OAU which is an important factor in the strengthening of African independence. As early as five years ago, the heads of the OAU member states and governments proclaimed at an assembly in Monrovia, the capital city of Liberia, that the development of Africa by Africans and for the welfare of Africans would be their principal social guideline. The regional economic organizations created in accordance with the OAU charter have been designated to play a large role in this undertaking. They are already functioning in the central, western, eastern, and other parts of Africa. A resolution was adopted to create an African "Common Market" by 1990 and an African community by the beginning of the next century. Thirty-three states of the continent have agreed to

create the African Monetary Fund. The young states are increasingly realizing the extensive opportunities for state control of the economy. It was in vain that George Bush opened fire at this "target." The problem of initial capital accumulation is quite an acute one in Africa. If this problem remains unresolved it will be easier for the imperialists to tighten the noose of foreign indebtedness around the neck of the young countries. The Africans are placing certain hopes on oil in this regard. Oil exploration is being carried out in eight countries (five states of the continent are oil-producing countries).

Africa's grave economic situation cannot and must not overshadow the political achievements of the OAU. Today it is obvious to all that it has become an obstacle to the creation of new sources of tension on the continent by reactionary forces in concert with the imperialists. There are wounds, and they can be exacerbated, but reason and governmental wisdom will prevail. And surely, the task of resolving territorial and other disputes by peaceful means is one of the principal tasks of the all-African organization.

Unfortunately, another task, that of liquidating the remnants of colonialism on the continent completely, remains unfulfilled. Despite the resolutions of the UN, Namibia remains, as before, a colony of the racist Republic of South Africa, and to be more exact, a colony of international imperialism, headed by the United States. All the attempts to deceive the African and world community by painting colonial Namibia with a pseudodemocratic facade have proved to be futile. The atmosphere in the South African Republic has been brought to the boiling point, where mass protests continue to demand the end of the barbaric apartheid system. These protests are supported by a growing solidarity of all independent Africa with those who are fighting against apartheid.

The role of the African countries as an important positive factor in international life continues to grow. Many of those countries have come out in support of the peaceful initiatives taken by the Soviet Union in the matter of disarmament and preventing the threat of a global nuclear war which would inevitably engulf the African continent as well. In spite of the fact that the African countries at their present stage of development have been forced to concentrate their principal attention on their struggle with economic difficulties, they have not forgotten their internationalist duty and have come out against the actions of American imperialism in the Middle East and in Central America. There is a growing movement to liquidate the military bases and bridgeheads of the imperialist powers in Africa.

The Organization of African Unity is reaching manhood and is becoming politically tempered in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and racism. The Soviet Union has been and remains a true comrade-in-arms of the African peoples, and a reliable supporter in their struggle for strengthening national independence, peace, and freedom.